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AN
IMPARTIAL HISTORY
OF
IRELAND,

FROM THE PERIOD OF THE ENGLISH
INVASION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

FROM AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS.

BY DENNIS TAAFFE.

VOL. III.

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1810.

AN
IMPARTIAL HISTORY
OF
IRELAND.

**FROM THE PERIOD OF THE ENGLISH INVASION
TO THE YEAR 1810.**

THUS it was the hard lot of the unfortunate Irish, after suffering in their persons, goods, and conscience, intolerable oppression and spoliation, to be equally assailed in their character, by the slanderous industry of malignant libellers, Temple, Borlase; from whom, and Clarendon, all succeeding adverse writers, Warner, Leland, and the ranting rhetoric of philippizing Hume, copied calumnious tales of fictitious horrors. The crimes, committed on both sides, were sufficiently horrible, without the aid of exaggeration. Yet protestant and deistical writers, instigated by a hatred of the catholic and christian religion, have widely circulated these exaggerations and falsehoods through the continent, where they appear in every shape, in prose and verse, in geographies, magazines, histories, dramatic compositions, &c. Hume, and his fellow slanderers, so diligent to cull all the venom spewed by the viperous libellers of the regicide faction, have as carefully omitted the barbarous exploits of the puritan forces, in extirpating the Irish with fire, sword

and famine; and the zeal of these persecuted, for the service of the king, after all the galling oppression inflicted by him and his father. “ Borlase has given us a journal of Sir William Cole’s services against the insurgents, wherein it is boastingly asserted, “ that from the twenty-third of October 1641, to some time in 1642, the said Sir William killed with his regiment of five hundred foot and one troop of horse, two thousand four hundred and seventeen swordsmen of the rebels; and starved and famished of the vulgar sort (whose goods were seized on by the regiment), seven thousand. That he rescued and relieved five thousand four hundred and sixty-seven Scotch and English protestants. That after this rate the English in all parts fought. Colonel Gibbon having taken the strong castle of Carricmain, belonging to the Walshes, near Dublin, in which several hundreds of the Irish had taken refuge, “ put them all to the sword, sparing neither man, woman, nor child.”*

Whence did this malignant spirit of exterminating warfare originate? Not from the religion or character of the original Irish. We have already cited a reproach to them, of having no martyrs to boast, from a popish British historian; an honorable testimony of their toleration, distinguishing them from all other nations; none of whom abstained from putting to death some of their first missionaries, except the highland Scots, of the same antient lineage. We have

* Borlase’s Hist. of the Irish Rebellion.

proved, that, during the persecution of queen Mary, great numbers of protestants took refuge in Ireland; where the fugitives lived unmolested, under protection of a catholic government, a catholic parliament, and a catholic nation. If they, in any degree, afterwards degenerated from the magnanimous and christian principle of toleration, the degeneracy must be attributed to the bitter persecution they endured in every thing dear to humanity; and the terror inspired by the enthusiastic hatred of popery; and the threatened extinction thereof, with fire, sword and famine, openly proclaimed by the regicide faction, who made it a crime in his majesty to relax ever so little from the code of prescription, called penal laws. This savage hatred of catholics was considerably augmented, by the fore-mentioned artifices of the revolutionizing party, and much by the anti-christian rage, raised and boiling furiously from the cauldrons of hell, during the sanguinary, irreligious wars about religion, carried on in Germany, which Charles himself had the folly and wickedness to encourage. Weak politician, he little foresaw the fatal consequences to himself, to church and state, from conjuring up the evil spirit of religious animosity, and exciting the cruellest and most implacable of wars; a war of obstinate, misguided zealots: encouraging the French Hugonots to war against their sovereign, with promises of support from England; and inviting, with similar promises, Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, to put himself at the head of the protestant league in

Germany, and carry on the war of religion against the emperor. The contagious spirit of religious hatred, engendered by these long and inhuman wars, operated with epidemic infection on the fanatical puritans, and excited that phrenetic abhorrence and detestation of every thing and person bearing the name of catholic, which writers, like Leland, vainly strive to ascribe to other causes.

Some of the Irish, chiefly the rabble, were driven by their sufferings, and the denounced terror of worse, from the proud pre-eminence of their ancestors, in the wise and christian policy of toleration; but bright examples of the contrary, attested by adverse or not friendly writers, are yet on record.

“ The first thing that the new general of the Irish, Owen O’Nial, did, was to express his abhorrence of cruelties that had been committed on the English. He told Sir Phelim O’Nial, that he himself deserved to be treated in the same manner. In detestation of their actions, he burnt some of the murderers’ houses; and said, with a warmth unusual to him, that he would join the English rather than not burn the rest.

“ By the humanity of Mr. Philip O’Reilly, one of the most considerable chiefs of the rebels, scarce any murders were committed in the county of Cavan; such of the protestants as put themselves under his protection, were safely conveyed into the English quarters; and those that were stript and in necessity, he fed and cloathed, till they were sent away. Among these, was Dr. Henry

Jones, a nephew of primate Usher, and dean of Kilmore, who, though he turned afterwards a noted partizan of Cromwell's, was promoted to the see of Clogher, and thence, after the restoration, to the see of Meath.

“ Doctor Maxwell, afterwards bishop of Kilmore, deposeth, that Mrs. Catherine Hovenden, widow, and mother to Sir Phelim O’Nial, preserved four-and-twenty English and Scotch, in her own house; and fed them there for seven-and-thirty weeks, out of her own store; and that, when her children took her away, upon the approach of an army, she left both them, and the deponent, at their liberty. That captain Alexander Hovenden, her son, conducted five-and-thirty English out of Armagh to Drogheda, whereof some were of good quality; when it was thought he had secret directions to murder them. Twenty more he sent safe to Newry, and he would trust no other convoy but himself.

“ There are many honorable testimonies of the care and preservation of the English by lord Muskerry and his lady, not only in saving their lives from the enemy, but also in relieving them, in great numbers, from cold and hunger, after they had been stript and driven from their habitations. Indeed, all the gentlemen in that part of the kingdom (Munster) were exceedingly careful to prevent bloodshed, and to hinder the English from being pillaged and stript, though it was many times impossible.

“ In the abovementioned province of Munster, lord Mountgarret, by proclamation, strictly en-

joined all his followers not to hurt any of the English inhabitants, either in body or goods; and he succeeded so far in his design for their preservation, that there was not the least act of bloodshed committed. But it was not possible for him to prevent the vulgar sort, who flocked after him “for booty, from plundering both English and Irish, papist and protestant, without distinction. He used his authority, but in vain, to put a stop to this violence; till seeing one of the rank of a gentleman, Mr. Richard Cantwell descended from Mr. Cantwell of Painstown, a man much esteemed in his country) transgressing his orders, and plundering in his presence, he shot him dead with his pistol.

“ At the same time the said lord Mountgarret’s eldest son, colonel Edmund Butler, taking possession of Waterford, none of the inhabitants of whatever country or religion, were either killed or pillaged; and such of the British protestants as had a mind to leave the place, were allowed to carry off their goods wherever they pleased.

“ Callan and Gowran were seized at the same time, by persons thereunto designed by lord Mountgarret, without any bloodshed; some plunder however, was there committed, though with less violence for fear of complaints, it being confined to cattle of English breed, which were stolen as well from the Irish, who had any of that breed, as from the English.

“ The towns of Clonmell and Carrickmagriffit, in Tipperary, and Dungarvan, were severally surprized by Mr. Richard Butler of Kilcash,

second brother to the marquis of Ormond; and he had such an influence over his followers, that he kept them not only from murder, but even from plunder; his great care and noble disposition, being acknowledged even by his enemies.

“ James, lord Dunboyne, hearing of the surprise of Fethard, by Theobald Butler, and being chief commander of the barony of Middlethyrde, by special grants made to some of his ancestors, for service performed to the crown of England, repaired thither the next day, and took on him the command of the town, dispersing the rabble, and placing in it a garrison, which he formed of the most substantial inhabitants of the place, and neighbourhood. He immediately set the English at liberty, restored them their goods, and sent them away in safety to Youghall, and other places, which they chose for their retreat. Two of these were clergymen, of whom Mr. Hamilton was, at his request, sent with his family to the countess of Ormond.

“ Mr. Lowe, vicar of Cloyne, having been barbarously murdered at Fethard, by one James M'Hugh, and some accomplices, lord Ikerin, upon information given against him, committed him to prison, whence M'Hugh making an escape, fled to the country for some time; but returning, was seized again, confessed the fact, and was hanged for it, with two of his accomplices.

“ Sir Richard Everet, bart. in the beginning of the rebellion, sent the richest of the English planters in his country, with their stock and

goods, into the English quarters. The poorer English, consisting of eighty-eight persons, he kept and maintained at his own charge till the middle of June, 1642; then conveyed them to Mitchel's-town, and when that place was afterwards taken by the Irish, he sent for some of those families that were very poor, and maintained them for a long time. As soon as the cessation was made, some of the poor tenants came back to him, and he settled and protected them on his lands, till Cromwell came into the country.

“ When Birr surrendered to general Preston, in January 1642, the articles were faithfully performed; and the earl of Castlehaven, his lieutenant general, conveyed the garrison and inhabitants, to the number of eight hundred persons, in a long march of two or three days together, through the woods of Irregan, and waste countries, safe to Athy.”*

How can we account for the manifold misrepresentations of the Irish, and their transactions, especially during the civil war in 1641? From the first moment of the invasion, the barbarities, committed by the invaders, either to glut the vengeance of king Dermot, for plunder, or from innate cruelty, begat national hatred, and, consequently, misrepresentation. In the period of the civil war, that hatred amounted to a phrenzy, from the additional incentives of the hatred of popery and prelacy, adopted as the first article in the creed of the puritan faction; and their

* Carte's Ormond.

detestation of Irish loyalty to the reigning family, with whom they went to war. Borlase and Temple wrote for the regicide faction; and could do nothing more pleasing to their masters, than to paint popery and Irishmen in as hideous forms as fiction could devise. Clarendon had injured them too much, by his share in the act of settlement, not to hate them, and endeavour, by misrepresentation, to clear his master Charles II. from the charge of ingratitude, and himself from that of evil counsel and injustice. These foul calumnies were willingly entertained, by a people remarkably credulous in the article of scandal, and prone to despise and hate other nations, especially those subject to their dominion, and became a settled public opinion, connecting with the idea of Irishman, every thing wild, barbarous, uncivilized and cruel; insomuch, that posterior writers found it their interest to flatter the prevailing prejudices, by continuing and improving the received calumnies, rather than shock them by the encounter of historical truth. Thus it was, that David Hume, on the receiving documents from Charles O'Connor, to rectify his mistatements of Irish affairs, observed, that their insertion into his work would injure; a sacrifice the Scotch historian would not make to truth.

We have proofs enough remaining of the very contrary principles and conduct of the puritan and popish parties. The first, vowed the extermination of popery and prelacy, and gave orders and authority for murders and massacres,

which were executed to a horrible extent. The second, discountenanced and publicly prohibited murder and robbery.

“ But how shall we account for the accumulated charges laid on the Irish, for murders and massacres in the war of 1641, and in this war only? The truth is, without descending to particular and disagreeable proofs, that the æra in question was an age of fanaticism, of hypocrisy, and of dark and bloody doings, and those men who, after bringing their prince to the block, offered to restore Sir Phelim O’Neal* to his honours and estate, as well as to save a life justly forfeited by his cruelty, provided he would accuse the late king as been the source of all the disturbances in Ireland, would stick at nothing to promote their interest, or palliate their own unequalled barbarities.” That they were deeply concerned, to misrepresent this kingdom, needs no proof; but we may reasonably believe, that were the Irish capable of even imagining half the barbarities then laid to their charge, they would be at this day as free a nation as any in Europe. ‘ Throw dirt, and some of it will stick,’ is a political maxim, which even the upper ranks in society have sometimes adopted: and surely there is nothing in the origin, the education, or the principles of the anti-royalists of the last century, that should lead us to believe them incapable of employing it on a useful occasion.

“ It is far from my intention or inclination to

* Dean Kerr’s affidavit in Nalson’s Collections.

justify any kind of outrage against a lawful authority; but surely those gentlemen who, from principle, defend the measures taken by the English and Scotch, in taking up arms against their lawful sovereign, should not censure the Irish for endeavouring to preserve their liberties from the invasions of the English parliament. No one looks on oppression for religious principles in a more detestable light than I; and, upon reflection it must appear astonishing, that the professors of a doctrine which inculcates the most humiliating and passive principles, should be the foremost to maintain it by means the least justifiable. But surely the clergy and laity of England and Scotland, who solemnly swore “to the extirpation of popery and prelacy in the three kingdoms, without respect of persons, lest they might partake in their sins, and thereby be in danger to partake of their plagues,”* should be the last to condemn the people of Ireland for rising in defence of their religion. These last were certainly more justifiable in defending their old opinions, than the reformers in forcing new tenets on them.

“That the Irish coalition was not intended for the base and abominable purposes of extermination in cold blood, as their enemies have affirmed, is demonstrable. After all the measures for the intended insurrection were settled, a general meeting of the Irish chiefs was held at the abbey of Multifarnan in the county of Westmeath, in

* Solemn League and Covenant.

the beginning of October, 1641, to determine what should be done with their enemies. After many debates it was unanimously resolved carefully to avoid the spilling of cold blood, and to send all their captives, wherever taken, to Dublin, from thence to be shipped off for England, never to return on pain of death. This is recorded by Peter Walsh, a living witness,* and too much the creature of the marquis of Ormond to be suspected of partiality to this party. Temple† mentions this meeting, but pretends ignorance of its intent. Dr. Jones, who was their prisoner about this period, in his examination, declares the object of it, as I have related; and the same is admitted by Dr. Warner,‡ who further observes, that though the intentions of the insurgents on this head were not even publicly known; yet from the prisoners being from every quarter sent under escorts to Dublin, it must be admitted. At a provincial synod of the clergy of Ulster, summoned immediately after the breaking out of this war, as well as at a national council assembled at Kilkenny in the year 1642, excommunication was publicly denounced against all catholics, who should from private revenge, hatred, or desire of plunder, enter into this war, but particularly against all robbers or murderers. To the proclamation of the Irish chiefs from Newry, of the fourth of November, 1641, they annex a mandate of the king's, authorizing them to make war on

* Irish remonstrance.

† History of the Irish rebellion.

‡ History of the Civil Wars of Ireland.

his English and Irish enemies; and though this commission from the king was afterwards known to be forged, yet was it the grand cement of the Irish league. Many years after, Mac Carthy, lord of Muskerry, publicly acknowledged to lord Orrery, “that were it not for this contrivance, they would never have been able to keep their people together.

“From these incontrovertible facts, it is demonstrable, 1st. That the Irish never harboured the base and cowardly thought of destroying their enemies in cold blood; 2nd, That the public acts of their clergy, expressed their detestation of such foul practices; and 3d, That the people were drawn into this war from a full persuasion that they had royal authority to justify their proceedings. That much blood was spilt on this unhappy occasion, it is but too true; but what I contend for is, that it was not the act nor by the consent of the Irish league. Whilst Sir Phelim O’Neal, colonel Mac Guire, and their men, committed many cruel outrages in the counties of Down, and Antrim, O’Reily publicly protected the protestants in the county of Cavan, as did the O’Ferrals, in the county of Longford. In July 1642, when Owen Roe O’Neal superseded Sir Phelim in the command of the Ulster army, his first act was causing the houses of the murderers to be burnt and their persons sought for. He publicly censured the cruelty of Sir Phelim, and declared that rather than not punish these wretches, he would join the very English themselves! Even many of the outrages com-

mitted by his people, Sir Phelim, at his execution, publicly disclaimed; declaring them to be done contrary to his orders. It would be hard to doubt his sincerity at this time of trial, especially when he more than once rejected the offer of life and fortune at the very tree, rather than accuse his sovereign of being the author of this war. All the chief Irish commanders constantly and publicly disclaimed all orders for outrage or murder, and frequently punished their men when convicted of such crimes. The Irish chiefs in 1642, and again in 1643, when these affairs were fresh in the minds of the public,* addressed the king to call a parliament to have a severe enquiry made into all murders and massacres committed on both sides, to that day. The same application was made to Charles II. and why their enemies declined the challenge let every reader conjecture.

“ The reader will see, that I have not denied, but that cruel murders were committed in the counties of Down and Antrim, in the infancy of this war. Dr. Warner says,† “ It is plain that some murders, though probably not very many, considering the nature of the insurrection; and the end intended, were committed in the first week.” Let the names of the perpetrators of such villainies be transmitted to posterity with the infamy they deserve, but let not the reputation of an entire kingdom suffer through the baseness of two or three great and bad men; of a people

* Borlase's Hist. of the Irish Reb. and Appen.

† Irish Civil Wars, vol. i. p. 82.

perhaps the least formed for such abominable crimes, in the world! It has been also asserted, that the league in question was against the English name and nation. Yet we see in the very first Irish proclamation, English catholics as well as Irish, invited to join in this cause. In the then votes of the English commons, we read of English catholics of quality being confined for saying there was no safety for their persons but in Ireland. We know many resorted to them, as lord Castle-haven, colonel Touchet, and others, who were promoted to great commands in the Irish army; and that the warmest friendship and confidence subsisted between them. Envoys from the principal courts of Europe, as well as the earl of Glamorgan, on behalf of king Charles, and cardinal Rinuccini from the pope, attended on the supreme council of Kilkenny, which surely proves they were far from being the barbarians they were afterwards represented. If they had committed the crimes charged on them, how were they so wonderfully concealed from these envoys and ambassadors, nay from all the world at that time, Borlase, Temple, Clarendon, and their emissaries excepted? * Base and cruel

* “ Could we suppose Louis XIV. would be guarantee of the peace of 1618, on behalf of the Irish, if he looked upon them as the murderers their enemies have represented them? Would he, after the restoration, by his ambassador Ruvigny, require an adherence to this peace; and afterwards with his own hand write to Charles II. on this head, if he thought them a culpable people? In this letter he affirms That the only subjects who held out longest and suffered most in the cause of royalty, were this brave and generous people.”

acts are the characteristics of a cowardly disposition: No one will accuse the Irish of cowardice.”*

“ Many instances might be produced of the great beneficence and humanity of the ecclesiastics, to the distressed English and protestants, at that period. “ At the taking of Cashell, Dr. Samuel Pullen, chancellor of that city, and dean of Clonfert, with his wife and children, was preserved by father James Saul, a jesuit. Several other Romish priests distinguished themselves on that occasion, by their endeavours to save the English; particularly father Joseph Everard, and Redmond English, both Franciscan friars; who hid some of them in their chapel, and even under their altar. And soon after, those who had been thus preserved were, according to their desire, safely conveyed into the county of Cork, by a guard of the Irish inhabitants of Cashel, who acted with so much good faith, that several of the convoy were wounded in defending them from the violence of the rabble upon the mountains in their passage.”†

“ Doctor Bedel, bishop of Kilmore, when a prisoner with the insurgents, who doubtless had many priests among them, “ was never interrupted in the exercise of his worship, although not only his house and all the out-buildings, but also the church and church-yard, were full of people that flocked to him for protection. So that from the twenty-third of October to the eighteenth of

* O'Halloran's Introd. Hist. Irel.

† Carte's Ormond.

December following, he, and all those within his walls, enjoyed to a miracle," says bishop Burnet, "perfect quiet. And when he died, at the age of seventy-one, the titular bishop of the diocese, though he had proselyted his brother, a popish priest, to the communion of the established church, suffered him to be buried in consecrated ground, the Irish doing him unusual honours at his funeral. For the chiefs of the insurgents having assembled their forces, accompanied his body to the church-yard with great solemnity; and desired Mr. Clogy, one of his chaplains, to bury him according to the church offices. At his interment they discharged a volley of shot, crying out in Latin, *hic requiescat ultimus Anglorum!* May the last of the English rest in peace! Edmund Farilly, a popish priest, exclaimed at the same time, *O, sit anima mea cum Bedello!* Would to God that my soul were with Bedel!"*

"Having, I think, fairly vindicated the Irish, as a nation, from the horrid crimes of murder and massacre, by laying them on the few who committed them; charity obliges me to hope, that the unexampled bloody reprisals of their enemies, proceeded not from any cruelty peculiar to the English nation, but from the vindictive spirit of a few. But be this as it may, most certain it is, that their troops pursued the most bloody and cruel measures that history can furnish. What excesses the Irish committed, we see were contrary to the orders of their chiefs; their

* Burnet's Life of Bedel.

inhuman adversaries acted by positive order from above. Entire countries were laid waste, and men, women, and children, without distinction, butchered by a merciless soldiery! So cool were these men in the trade of murder, that when sometimes reprehended for their infernal sporting with the miseries of dying infants, they used gravely to answer, ‘That nits would be lice.’ Do their writers deny, can they deny any of these charges? Have they not gloried in the scenes of desolation, which they every where exhibited? And has not lord Clarendon himself told us, “That except the Jews, no nation was ever reduced to the wretchedness of the Irish, and in this state, they were unpitied by all the world!” Dr. Warner sensibly remarks,* “The protestants would take it very ill, (and very justly) if the barbarities of Sir Charles Coote and Sir Frederick Hamilton, were imputed to their religion; why then should they charge those, of which Sir Phelim O’Neal and others were guilty, on the principles of the Romish church, which hath disclaimed them?”

Lord Clarendon, in his account of the restoration, tells us, that “The Irish who would now have been glad to have redeemed their past miscarriages and madness, by doing service for the king, were under as severe captivity, and complete misery, as the worst of their actions had deserved, and indeed as they were capable of undergoing.” Would not one be tempted from

* Civil Wars of Ireland, v, ii. p. 203.

this curious paragraph to think that the Irish were the constant enemies of the two Charles's? Yet Charles I. tells us,† “ Preposterous rigours, well grounded discontents, apprehensions of greater injuries, continual oppressions, want of natural liberty, fears of utter extirpation, and downright despair,” made the Irish take up arms! and when they did draw the sword, they framed an oath to be taken by all officers, civil and military, acting under them, to bear true allegiance to Charles and his successors, as kings of Ireland. Charles II. whose word one should think we ought to take, as soon as his chancellor's, in his first speech from the throne, when a sense of gratitude was yet warm in him, thus expresses himself: “ I need say nothing of Ireland, and that they alone shall not be without the benefit of my mercy: they have shewn much affection to me abroad; and you will have a care of my honour, and what I have promised to them.” In Louis XIVth's letter, dated Sept. 7, 1660, addressed and delivered to Charles by his ambassador Ruvigny, in behalf of the Irish, he expressly affirms, “ that, in the almost general defection of all his subjects, the Irish alone stood firm and unshaken in his interest.” The ideas excited by our ruling passions are oftenest present to us. Lord Clarendon, besides his personal aversion to the Irish, could not forget that he had a principal hand in the famous act of settlement. It is not the injured, but the person who injures,

* Icon Basilic.

that never forgives. His inclination and interest, as well as character, made it necessary to throw the Irish into the most unfavourable point of view, in direct opposition to history and facts; and he has represented them, not as they really were, but as they should have been, to justify the great lengths he went to ruin them.”*

In vindicating his country from base aspersions, Dr. O'Halloran has been peculiarly severe on the Scotch; with a view, I suppose, of making reprisals on the country of Hume, for that writer's violent philippics against Ireland. I cannot agree with the learned historian, that Scotland was the sole, original source of the English rebellion. One of its sources must be traced to the schism produced by the incontinence of Henry VIII., and the forcible reformation of religion, carried on by his children, which deprived antiquity of reverence, and authority of obedience, accustoming men's minds to be reconciled to changes; and, by proscribing and punishing adherence to antiquity and authority, and giving countenance and fashion to innovation, tempted every ambitious spirit to hunt in quest of fresh discoveries in scripture, for improving on innovation, and exploding more and more of the antient opinions. From a contempt of spiritual authority the transition is not difficult to the civil, and innovations in religion have ever a tendency to produce revolutions in the state. This truth has been exemplified by the conduct

* O'Halloran's Introduc. Hist. Ire.

of the reformed; who, wherever they prevailed, sought, and by force of arms too, the overthrow both of church and state. 'Tis true, indeed, the immediate commencement of the troubles took place in Scotland, but the English were long in progress to receive the impulse. The troubles had their origin from the reformation of both countries, producing that spirit, which, agreeably to men's different political opinions, some would call a spirit of liberty, while others would characterize it as a spirit of anarchy: in its excess it is, unquestionably; and ill managed, inefficient opposition, will drive it to excess, which was the case both in England and Scotland. Having thus far extenuated one of the charges against the Scotch, of their having been the sole cause and promoters of the troubles in the other two kingdoms, I shall submit the rest of the learned Doctor's charge to the reader.

“ Mr. Hume tells us, “ so great was the hatred of the Irish to every thing that was English, that they not only murdered the poor defenceless people, but fired their houses, burnt their furniture, and destroyed their very cattle, that nothing belonging to them should remain in the kingdom!” It must be owned, that although none shewed themselves more forward to spill the blood of the Irish than the countrymen of this historian, yet they did not carry their malice to the same extremity. However criminal the Irish appeared in their eyes, and though by their covenant they were obliged to extirpate popery and prelacy, yet upon reflection they concluded

their goods and chattles not culpable. Whilst they destroyed the people, they rifled their goods, and sent off the cattle in large droves to Scotland. The war they carried on there, was rather that of plunderers and robbers, than of disciplined troops. Nay, to such an height did they carry their rapacity, that the chief justices in those days, iniquitous as they were, began to apprehend an universal scarcity, from these Caledonian Tartars. Dr. Warner* tells us, that Monroe, in his return to Carrig-fergus, wasted the country, and with other effects carried off four thousand head of cattle; but the night before they were to be divided between the English and Scots, they were conveyed away, to the great discontent of the English, “who began to mutiny, and never after cared to march with such a band of thieves.” After this they marched into the county of Antrim, where they drove off five thousand head of cattle; and when lord Antrim invited Monroe to his castle where he was sumptuously entertained, and offered to unite with him to preserve the peace of this county, the return the latter made his noble host was, to seize on his cattle, and make himself a prisoner! “In short,” says Dr. Warner, “the Scotch general had as little honour as the banditti he commanded.”

“Whilst the cause of liberty prompted the English, and the Irish armed in defence of their religion and their country, the Scotch, parsimo-

* Civil Wars of Ireland, vol. i. p. 198.

nious and prudent, whatever their pretences might be, shewed clearly that lucre alone was their *primum mobile*. Though they promised the reversion of wonderful places in heaven, to such as would take the covenant, yet the moment the English parliament swore to its maintenance, they refused to march to their assistance till they received one hundred thousand pounds, besides three hundred thousand pounds voted to them before this, as well as twenty-five thousand pounds a month, during their stay in England. Even to their selling the king, whom, through Montreuil the French ambassador, they invited to their camp, as to a sure asylum, they plainly shewed that avarice was their predominant passion. Charles, their lawful sovereign, descended from an illustrious line of kings, instead of the protection which honour, allegiance, and public faith demanded, they gave up to his relentless enemies; not for religion, not for liberty, or even revenge; but for base, sordid lucre! the sum of four hundred thousand pounds was the price of royal blood, half of which was paid in hand, and of this reward for treason the general and the common soldier, equally partook! Whilst all Europe execrated so atrocious an act, men of wit were not wanting to express their particular detestations; and with one of the many epigrams on this foul deed, I shall close this chapter.

“ *Quis neget Iscarii Scotum de Germine Judæ,
Hic Christum domini vendidit, ille Deum!
Vendidit ut Christum Judas, sic Scotia regem:
Ille, suum dominum vendidit, illa, suum!*”*

* O'Halloran's *Introduc. Hist. Irel.*

For the sake of the English reader, without pretensions to the gift of poesy, I give the following translation, containing the substance of the foregoing epigram. "From Judas sprung, who can deny the Scot? The lord's anointed sold by one, as t'other sold his God. As Christ was sold by Judas, Scotland her king betrayed. As he sold his lord, for cash she sold her laird."

The insurrection was for six weeks confined to the mere Irish of the province of Ulster, the remnant and descendents of those perfidiously plundered by James about thirty-two years before. But this did not satisfy the puritan parliament, or their creatures, Parsons, Borlase, and others, who greedily longed for confiscations. The rebel parliament knew, that notwithstanding the sufferings of the Irish from the tyranny of the reigning family, in person, goods and conscience, they would crowd with ardour to the royal standard, against a detested and dreaded party; and they dreaded such an accession to his majesty's forces. They sufficiently expressed their fears of the eight thousand Irish, raised by lord Strafford, and were never easy till they caused him to disband them. Whatever contempt they outwardly affected for the Irish, they were inwardly convinced of their valour. They could not be unacquainted with the declaration of lord Mountjoy, "That if England were invaded, he could bring three thousand men from Ireland, who would deal as hard knocks as ten thousand men of any other nation whatever." A general civil war of continuance was absolutely neces-

sary, whose management should be in their hands; and the administration of Irish government lodged in the hands of their own creatures, to prevent so dangerous an accession to the royal cause. The event proved the foresight of these able, wicked politicians; for it was the Irish rebellion, as 'tis called, that decided the fate of Charles; the forces employed in which, without this impediment, would unquestionably have turned the scale in favour of the royal martyr, had they arrived while affairs wore a favourable aspect.

Here we likewise have an instance of divine justice in the administration of this world. Without the royal robbery, committed on the antient proprietors of Ulster, and other robberies, committed by father and son in different parts, there would have been no insurrection in Ireland, to favour the rebellion in England; therefore the house of Stuart fell by its own crimes. The overthrow of Charles caused the exile of the two young princes, and, by consequence, their education in the catholic religion, which, in its consequences, occasioned their final expulsion.

If it be asked, would not the English rebels hazard, by such a bold experiment, the loss of a country of which they would be ambitious to retain possession? Revolutionary politics often lead to daring and hazardous methods; but the leaders of the regicide faction were too well acquainted with the divided state of Ireland, to entertain any serious apprehension of such loss. Besides the division of catholic and protestant, the jea-

lousies between the antient and modern Irish had not as yet subsided. The greater part of the land being at that time possessed by descendants of English settlers, the Anglo-Irish interest must predominate in any public body representing the insurgent Irish. These, conscious of the iniquitous means by which their estates were wrested from the antient proprietors, fearing a spirit of resumption to revive among the old natives, in case of a separation, would adhere to the connexion with England, as the palladium of their safety, necessary to secure their possessions. To secure and strengthen this attachment to English connexion, it was easy to increase their fear of separation, by stimulating some of the old natives to petition for a restitution of their estates, unjustly and violently torn from them. The representatives of English descent would take alarm at this, making it their own case, and reject the petition. The consequence would be, a complete rupture between the insurgents. Besides, the king's English enemies commanded the revenue of England, and all the forces in Ireland, as raised and destined for it. They possessed the capital, and several strong-holds, which they could defend against the Irish with moderate garrisons; and, having the command of the sea, they could send supplies and reinforcements as required. Their creatures governed in the king's name, called on the support of all that professed loyalty. They fought in Ireland, against the king's interest, under the king's colours, and made all the use they could of the royal autho-

rity, to undermine it in both kingdoms, to prevent the junction of the Irish with the king's forces, both parties ardently longing for the same.

This developement of their plan will give the reader a just idea of the proceedings of the party here. Why they prosecuted lord Strafford, got Parsons and Borlase appointed justices, rejecting Dillon, as one too loyal to his majesty to be entrusted with the councils and orders of his enemies. It explains wherefore they took no notice of the repeated intimations sent to them of a conspiracy being on foot. To what end, as soon as information on oath was given of the conspirators being in town, with a view of seizing the castle, they issued, by proclamation, an account of the discovery; thereby giving warning to the chiefs of the insurrection to escape. The capture of these men would, probably, frustrate the whole plan of the insurrection, and thereby disappoint the puritans. Why, in their proclamation, they qualify it a rebellion of Irish papists; involving three-fourths of the kingdom, then not concerned in it. With the same wicked design, when the lords of the pale came to proffer their services, calling for arms, to march against the insurgents, they were refused, on the false pretence that they could not be spared, while ten thousand musquets, a park of artillery, and plenty of ammunition, lay unemployed in the stores. To the same purpose they adjourned and readjourned the parliament, at the time their counsel and authority would be serviceable; and

partly to prevent their receiving the favourable intelligence, brought over from their agents, the grant of the favors and graces petitioned; which grant they would not publish by proclamation, lest it should allay discontent, and hinder the progress of insurrection. But what crowned their plan ultimately with success was, the bargain they struck with the earl of Ormond, as shall be seen in the sequel.

“ In August, 1641, the Irish parliament was in daily expectation of the return of their agents from England, with the royal assent to two bills, that would have put an effectual stop to those predatory suits of enquiry into defective titles, which had been so long and grievously complained of. “ Never,” says Mr. Carte, “ were two acts better adapted to give general satisfaction to any people, than these were to the gentlemen of Ireland.” Even Temple owns, “ that these bills had been long and most impetuously longed for by the Irish.” And although his majesty had, in May preceding, sent positive orders to the justices, to pass these bills, and the other promised graces; and the commons first, and afterwards both houses, had most earnestly and repeatedly besought them, “ that they might be suffered to continue together for a further time, because their agents were at the water-side with these bills;” yet these lords justices, acting every thing in Ireland, by the influence of the puritan faction in the English parliament, often in derogation of his majesty’s commands, caused the parliament to be ad-

journe'd for three months. Which adjournment the catholic members, who were principally aggrieved by it, "afterwards aggravated against the justices, as one of the chief moving causes of the taking up of arms generally throughout the kingdom."

"Soon after this fatal and enforced adjournment, the parliament's agents arriving in Dublin, "presently applied," says Temple, "to the lords justices and council, desiring to have those acts and other graces, granted by his majesty, made known to the people by proclamation." This was promised, and an instrument drawn up, and presented to their lordships for that purpose; but "they, as it seems, desiring rather to add fuel to the fire of the subjects discontents, than to quench the same, did forbear to give any notice thereof to the people."

"This general disgust was not removed or lessened by the next meeting of parliament, on the 16th of November following, the day to which it had been adjourned. On the contrary, by the manifest reluctance with which the justices suffered it to meet even then, and by their sudden prorogation of it for two months longer, it was greatly increased. This prorogation, says Mr. Carte, "gave a particular distaste to the Roman catholics, who were like to be the greatest sufferers thereby, and to lose the benefit of those graces, which were intended for their particular relief. The earl of Ormond, lord Dillon of Costelloe, and some others, urged, among other things, against the prorogation,

that all the nation was in expectation of the graces, and would be strangely uneasy, if they were not confirmed in parliament. But the justices were deaf to all such remonstrances; for, as they had been with difficulty prevailed upon, by the importunate solicitations of the lords and gentry of the pale, to suffer the parliament to meet even on the aforesaid 16th of November, so they then took especial care to limit the session, in such a manner, that no act of grace, or any thing else for the people's quiet or satisfaction, might be propounded or passed. For well knowing that the members of both houses, throughout the kingdom (a few in and about Dublin only excepted), would be absent from parliament, they published their proclamation for the meeting but two days before the time; whereupon, only a few of the lords and commons appeared in the houses; who, on their entrance at the castle bridge and gate, and within the castle yard, to the door of the parliament-house, were environed with a great number of armed men, with matches lighted, and muskets presented even to the breasts of the members of both houses; none being admitted to bring one servant to attend him, or any weapon about him, within the castle bridge.

* "November 17th (1641), it was ordered, that the persons undernamed are appointed forthwith to withdraw themselves into the inner room of this house, and draw up a declaration of the humble desires of this house, for the continuance of this present session of parliament, without either adjournment or prorogation.—Appendix to Com. Jour. vol. i. fol. 17. Yet Borlase impudently affirms, "that both houses readily assented to this adjournment."—Irish Reb. fol. 17.

Yet how thin soever the houses were, and how much soever overawed, they did both jointly supplicate the lords justices and council, that they might for a time continue together, and expect the coming of the rest of the members, to the end, they might quiet the troubles in full parliament; and that those acts of security, granted by his majesty and transmitted under the great seal of England, might be passed, to settle the minds of his majesty's subjects. But to these requests, conducing so much to his majesty's service, and the settlement of the kingdom, a flat denial was given. Nay their lordships dismissed the houses, after only two days sitting, without saying a word of the graces from the king, or giving them any assurance, or even a faint glimmering hope, that they should be passed in another session."

"The earl of Castlehaven, who sate in that parliament, after having recited the loyal and unanimous protestation of both houses, "that they would, if necessary, take up arms, and with their lives and fortunes endeavour to suppress the rebellion;" informs us, "that in order speedily to bring the rebels to condign punishment, they fell immediately to consider of the most effectual means to do the work. But this way of proceeding," adds his lordship, "did not, it seems, suit with the lords justices designs, who were often heard to say, that the more there were in rebellion, the more lands would be forfeited; and therefore, in the very height of the business, they resolved upon a prorogation; which the

parliament understanding, viscount Costelloe, and myself, were sent from the lord's house, and others from the commons, to desire the continuance of parliament, till the rebels, then few in number, were reduced. But our advice was slighted, and the parliament next day prorogued, to the great surprise of both houses, and the general dislike of all knowing and honest men."

"As it evidently appears, from divers circumstances, that the justices, Parsons and Borlase, rather wished for and promoted, than endeavoured to prevent this insurrection, so it is still more manifest, that all their subsequent proceedings tended only to increase and extend it, for their own iniquitous private purpose. Sir Robert Talbot, of Castle-Talbot, in the county of Wicklow, repaired to Dublin in the beginning of the troubles; and offered to Sir William Parsons in the presence of dean Bulkely, who lived to attest it after the restoration, to secure the chief heads of the Byrnes, Tooles, and other septs in that county, who, as their lands had been planted some years before, were the likeliest men to rise and begin a rebellion in Leinster, if he would give him commission to do so; insisting that they would not stir while their chiefs were in custody, as so many hostages for their fidelity. But Sir William Parsons absolutely refused to give him a commission; and these septs soon after breaking out into rebellion, Sir Robert engaged against them, in defence of the English in that and the adjoining county of Catherlogh, and conveyed most of these English with their goods

and flocks safe to Dublin. He had, indeed, the lords justices thanks for this service, but it cost him dear; for in revenge thereof, two of his best houses, Cartan and Liscartan were burned by the Irish.

“ The earl of Ormond’s early offer to suppress these tumults in their beginning, met with no better reception from their lordships; for that nobleman having undertaken to pursue the rebels, then in no respect considerable, if he might be allowed meat and drink for the soldiers in his march, his proposal was rejected. “ The only reason assigned by the justices for this refusal, viz. the want of arms, was,” says Mr. Carte, “ a pretence so notoriously false, that it could only be made use of to cover motives which they were ashamed to confess; for there was, at this time, in the stores of the castle, a fine train of artillery, ammunition of all sorts in great quantities, arms for above ten thousand men, tents and necessaries of all kinds for the march and provision of an army; all which had been prepared by the earl of Strafford for the Scots expedition.

“ What these justices real motives were, soon after appeared. In the before-mentioned short session of November sixteenth, both houses had drawn up a letter to the king, which was sent by the lords Dillon and Taaffe; and in which they offered of themselves, and without any aid from England, to put an end to this insurrection.” Immediately upon this, the justices, and their party in the council, privately wrote to the earl

of Leicester, lord lieutenant of Ireland; and after telling him they expected and hoped for his secrecy, and that they could not open themselves with freedom at the council-board, they besought his lordship that no such overture should be accepted; among other reasons, because the charge of supplies from England, would be abundantly compensated out of the estates of those who were actors in the rebellion." From this information, the lords Dillon and Taaffe, with their papers, were seized at Ware, by order of the English house of commons; and detained in custody several months, till they made their escape to the king, then at York; but it was then too late to offer a remedy, as the insurrection was become in a manner general."*

The justices were indefatigable in their efforts to further an Irish rebellion. Though they refused to arm the Pale in the government's defence, they lent a few arms to lord Gormanstown, and some others, for the defence of their houses, which they shortly afterwards recalled, in token of distrust. The lords and gentlemen, thus left defenceless, repaired to Dublin, to live under the eye and protection of government. An order is issued to them to quit Dublin and its vicinity, and to return to their respective habitations, in twenty-four hours, on pain of death. "It appears from Borlase, that these justices published two proclamations of that kind, even before the end of October, 1641. As that writer,

* Curry's Rev. Civil Wars in Irel,

after having said that they had issued a proclamation, “ in his majesty’s name, commanding all persons, not dwellers in the city and suburbs, to depart within an hour after publication, on pain of death,” adds, “ that the state, on the twenty-eighth of October, published a proclamation to the same intent with the former, with the penalty of death to such as wilfully harboured them.”*

“ Another proclamation of the like tenor, and on the penalty of death, was issued by these justices, on the eleventh of November following.”*

Still no insurrection in the Pale, or in the provinces of Leinster, Munster and Connaught. Sir Charles Coote was dispatched to the county of Wicklow, where the man of blood committed his usual cruelties; particularly in the county town, where he spared neither age or sex. To a soldier, carrying about a babe on the point of his pike, he cried out, ‘ I like such frolics.’ On his return to Dublin, he was appointed governor of the city, for services so palatable to the justices and the English rebel parliament.

The justices, on the third of December, 1641, invited the lords of the Pale to confer with them on the state of the nation; which the latter had reasons not to comply with. The catholics of Dublin were disarmed the day before. The threat of extirpating those of their religion, uttered at the council board by Coote, had reached them. Their banishment to their country seats, on pain

* Borlase’s Hist. of the Irish Rebellion.

of death, where they remained, exposed to the incursions of the rebels, disarmed, defenceless; liable, in consequence, to be treated as harbourers of rebels, by persons, whose perfidy, avarice and cruelty, were on a par. What, invite people to a conference in Dublin, banished then on pain of death, and judged unfit to be trusted with arms? Hence, they justly considered the summons as an artifice to draw them into town, with an intent to destroy them, and seize their estates. In consequence of these not unfounded apprehensions, they returned an answer, signed by the earl of Fingal, lords Gormanstown, Slane, Dunsany, Netterville, Louth, and Trimblestown, stating their unshaken loyalty to the king, and their ardent desire to concur in any measures calculated to promote his majesty's service; notwithstanding their advice and proffered assistance had been rejected; and that, seeing the wanton murders, committed by soldiers acting under their orders, and being duly informed of a general massacre of catholics being threatened, they thought it advisable to stand on their best guard until security could be obtained from their lordships for their safety.

The better to understand the state of the country, and its parties, we shall divide and consider them apart. The antient inhabitants, whether Firbolgs or Milesians, had abundant causes of disaffection to English government and connexion; yet many of their leading men were wedded to both, especially in Munster and Connaught. The catholics, of English descent espe-

cially, men of property, were firmly attached to English connexion, notwithstanding their discontents at the measures of government. Most of the protestants were, at that time, infected with the puritannic plague, bitter enemies both to the catholics and the king; and it was unfortunate for both, that the government of the kingdom was at that time in their hands. As the best part of the landed property was possessed by catholics of English descent, it was a prime object with the puritan parliament, and their creatures, the justices, to implicate them in rebellion; which, difficult as it was, they found means to accomplish. “ For on the 7th of December, “ a party of horse and foot being sent by the justices, into the neighbourhood of Dublin, in quest of some robbers, came to the village of Santry, where they murdered some innocent husbandmen (whose heads they brought into the city in triumph), on pretence that they had harboured and relieved the rebels, who had made inroads and committed depredations in these parts. Hard, indeed, was the case of the country people at that time, when not being able to hinder parties of robbers and rebels, from breaking into their houses and taking refreshments there, this should be deemed a treasonable act, and sufficient to authorize a massacre.”*

“ The next morning complaint being made to the government of this outrage, no redress was obtained. Whereupon some gentlemen of qua-

* Carte, Temple, Borlase.

lity and others, inhabitants of that part of the country, being justly alarmed at these proceedings, and mindful of the report of Coote's barbarous proposal at the council-board, forsook their houses and prepared for their defence. For this massacre following so soon after "the executions and murders which Sir Charles Coote had ordered in the county of Wicklow; his being made governor of Dublin for that service; and the catholics of that city being all disarmed the day before the lords of the pale were invited to a conference there, confirmed their belief of the truth of the report, that a general massacre of those of their religion was intended."*

"Wherefore these gentlemen assembled together on the ninth of December, at Swords, a village distant from Dublin about six miles; and on the tenth, the justices issued their warrant, "commanding them to separate on sight of it; and that nine of the principal persons so assembled should appear before them at the council-board, by ten of the clock the next morning, to shew the cause of their assembling together in that manner." To this warrant they returned an answer on the same day, to the following effect: "that they were constrained to meet there, for the safety of their lives, which they conceived to be in no small danger, having been forced to forsake their dwellings on the last Tuesday at night, by the rising out of horse troops and foot companies, who, on the said night killed four

* Carte's Ormond.

catholics, for no other reason but because they bore the name of that religion; and that they had been before put into many fears, by certain intelligence given them of unexpected attempts against their lives, before they ran the hazard thereof; which was the only motive that hindered them from manifesting that obedience, which they knew to be due to their lordships' commands."

"The justices seeming to comply with these gentlemen's ardent desire above-mentioned, issued a manifesto, dated the fourteenth of December, but not published till the fifteenth; wherein they allowed them the space of two days, viz. until the seventeenth of that month, for their appearing before them in Dublin; and in order to induce them to appear then, "they gave them the word of the state, that they might safely and securely repair thither, without danger of any trouble or stay whatsoever. And yet, on the same fifteenth of that month, they detached a party of horse and foot to Clontarf, under the command of Sir Charles Coote, with orders "to fall upon and cut off" the inhabitants, and burn the houses of that village, which belonged to Mr. King, one of those gentlemen assembled at Swords, to whom, by name, the public faith had been given. "These orders were excellently well executed;"* though it is confessed that "no op-

* "Sixteen of the poor towns-people were killed by Sir Charles Coote's soldiers, on that occasion. In the same week fifty-six men, women and children, being frightened at what was done at Clontarf, took boats and went to sea, to shun

position was made." "Sir Charles Coote, who by the lords justices special designation, was appointed to go on this expedition, as the fittest person to execute their orders, and one who best knew their minds, at this time pillaged and burned houses, corn, and other goods belonging to Mr. King, to the value of four thousand pounds; which was but a sorry encouragement to him, says Mr. Carte, "to accept their invitation to Dublin, and gave just grounds of apprehending, at least, some danger of trouble; from which danger the manifesto pretended to secure him, as well as the rest that were assembled at Swords."*

An order from both houses of parliament, dated November 30th, directing them to grant his majesty's pardon to all those who, within a convenient time, would return to their obedience, was an obstacle they soon found means to overcome; agreeably, in all likelihood, to private instructions from the leaders of the anti-royalist faction. For, however they might, as they generally did, disregard the orders of his majesty, they durst not, without private encouragement from that quarter, openly disobey the orders of the commons, possessed of the plenitude of power. They continued their own proclamation, so limited, in time, persons and circumstances, as to

the fury of a party of soldiers come out of Dublin, under the command of colonel Crafford; but being pursued by the soldiers in other boats, were overtaken and thrown overboard.—Collect. of Massac. committed on the Irish.

* Carte's Ormond.

be fitter to prevent than invite submission. For, first, it precluded freeholders from all hope of pardon; "because," says lord Castlehaven, "they had estates to lose;" and the poorer Irish, who alone had been guilty of depredations and damages, were to be pardoned only on such terms as they could not comply with; "for their pardon," says Temple, "was to be granted only on condition of restoring the goods and chattels taken from the British;" which, as the same writer confesses, it was not possible for them to do. Besides, this order, instead of being general, as intended by the order of both houses, extended only to four counties, Meath, Westmeath, Louth and Longford; in two of which counties no body of insurgents had as yet appeared. The time for coming in being limited for ten days, circumstanced as the nation then was, it was scarce possible for great numbers to fulfil the object held out on so short a notice. His majesty's proclamation, of January the first, 1642, granting pardon to all insurgents on submission, they frustrated likewise, by secreting the copies thereof to such a degree, that the lords and gentlemen of the Pale, who lay nearest Dublin, could not get a sight of one of them. "Nay, instead of pursuing such pacific and conciliating measures, they, on the first of February following, commanded out the earl of Ormond, with a powerful army, on an expedition to the county of Kildare; where, "pursuant to his orders, he burnt Newcastle and Lyons, and gave up Naas to his soldiers to plunder; having sent out parties to burn

Castle-Martin, Kilcullen-bridge, and in short, all the country for seventeen miles in length, and twenty-five in breadth."

"The lords of the pale made no opposition to any of those parties that were detached to make the above-mentioned general devastation. But it affected lord Gormanstown, the principal mover of their union, to such a degree, that he died not long after of grief; and the rest of the lords of the pale, grown desperate, laid aside all thoughts of pardon or treaty; and joined all their forces for the support of the common cause; in which many others who had as yet stood out soon joined, fearing that they should at last be involved in the other's fate, since a total extirpation was intended."*

The reader will not fail to observe here, the completion of retributive justice in the distressing visitation on the Pale. Abusing power in the days of their prosperity, they dealt unmercifully with the old Irish, dispossessing them of landed property, and reducing them to bondage vile; one instance of which may suffice for the present. O'Cullen, the last considerable proprietor of the old race in the vicinity of Dublin, quit his country during Tyrone's war, to serve in Flanders; whence, 'tis apparent, that it was not aversion to war, but a conflict between honour and interest, that forced him out of the country at that juncture. He could not remain without joining with his followers either of the parties. O'Neil's cause

* Carte's Ormond.

he viewed as the cause of Ireland and the catholic faith, not to be opposed by an Irish catholic of honour. Sollicitous to reconcile, and save both interest and honour by a prudent neutrality, he emigrated and entered into the service of Spain, in Flanders, where he remained until the peace of 1602. When returning to his native country, he found great part of his estate in the possession of Brabanzon, afterwards earl of Meath, the inhabitants turned out, and strangers brought in. The messenger he sent to Brabanzon being murdered, in Meath, O'Cullen armed his remaining followers, and endeavoured to eject the intruders; but was attacked and fell by the hand of Brabanzon, who took possession of all his estate.

The earl of Ormond was certainly a powerful instrument in the hands of the English parliament; nor would they have courted him with a present of a diamond, worth two hundred and forty pounds; and with promises of vast honours and possessions, which were afterwards fulfilled by mean-spirited Charles, true to the engagements of the regicides, faithless to his own, and get him appointed lord lieutenant of the army, if they had not found him a man for their purpose.

“ In the expedition to the county of Kildare, “ the soldiers found one Mr. Higgins, a priest, at Naas, who might if he pleased have easily fled, if he apprehended any danger in the stay. When he was brought before the earl of Ormond, he voluntarily confessed that he was a papist, and that his residence was in the town, from whence he refused to fly away, with those that were

guilty, because he not only knew himself very innocent, but believed that he could not be without ample testimony of it; having by his sole charity and power, preserved very many of the English from the rage and fury of the Irish; and therefore he only besought his lordship to preserve him from the violence and fury of the soldiers: and put him securely into Dublin to be tried for any crime; which the earl promised to do, and performed it; though with so much hazard, that when it was spread abroad among the soldiers that he was a papist, the officer in whose custody he was intrusted was assaulted by them; and it was as much as the earl could do to compose the mutiny. When his lordship came to Dublin, he informed the lords justices of the prisoner he had brought with him, and of the good testimony he had received of his peaceable carriage; and of the pains he had taken to restrain those with whom he had credit, from entering into rebellion; and of many charitable offices he had performed: all of which there wanted not evidence enough, there being many then in Dublin, who owed their lives and whatever of their fortunes was left, purely to him. Within a few days after, when the earl did not suspect the poor man's being in danger, he heard that Sir Charles Coote, who was provost-marshal-general, had taken him out of prison, and caused him to be put to death in the morning, before, or as soon as it was light; of which barbarity the earl complained to the lords justices; but was so far from bringing the other to be questioned,

that he found himself upon some disadvantage, for thinking the proceeding to be other than it ought to have been.”*

“ It was certainly a miserable spectacle,” as lord Castlehaven observes in his manuscript vindication of his memoirs, “ to see every day numbers of people executed by martial law, at the discretion or rather caprice of Sir Charles Coote, an hot-headed and bloody man, and as such accounted even by the English and protestants. Yet this was the man, whom the lords justices picked out to entrust with a commission of martial law, to put to death rebels or traitors, that is (continues his lordship) all such as he should deem to be so; which he performed with delight and a wanton kind of cruelty; and yet all this while the justices sat in council, and the judges in the unusual seasons sat in their respective courts, spectators of, and countenancing so extravagant a tribunal as Sir Charles Coote’s, and so illegal an execution of justice.”

“ The earl of Ormond, though lieutenant-general of his majesty’s army, had it not, it seems, in his power to save the lives of any popish priests however innocent or meriting, whom he should happen to meet with in his march. For soon after, “ his lordship having promised the countess of Westmeath to preserve her chaplain, Mr. White, whom he found at her house, from the fury of the soldiers while he remained there; the poor man having on some occasion left it the

* Clarendon. Borlase. Hist. Irish Rebel.

next day, was taken abroad by them and brought to the earl, whom he reminded of the protection he had promised him the night before; but he was only answered, that if he had stayed in the house he was in, this would not have befallen him; and that it was then out of his power to preserve him, himself being bound to pursue those orders which the lords justices had given him. Nevertheless," continues Clarendon, "he did endeavour to have saved him, at least till he might be brought to Dublin; but the whole army, possessed with a bitter spirit against the Romish clergy, mutinied upon it; and in the end compelled his lordship to leave him unto that justice which they were authorised to execute, and so put him to death."* These facts picture out the hideous infernal spirit that dictated the covenant.

From these transactions, as well as from the whole of his subsequent, the marquis of Ormond is clearly convicted of having acted a double part, the more dangerous enemy to his king and country, as he fought in the king's name and under his banners against his person, authority, and family, and for the overthrow of the religion and laws of both kingdoms. Active instrument of the puritan faction, in exciting the Irish to insurrection, by all manner of cruelty and treachery, he equally concurred with the English rebels, in hindering a cessation of arms and peace, ardently wished for by the king and the confede-

* Carte's Ormond.

rate catholics, and as much dreaded by the English rebels, apprehending the accession of strength that would accrue to his majesty's service from the forward loyalty of his Irish catholic subjects. Charles was very unfortunate in his choice of those to whom he entrusted, by virtue of his nominal authority, the government of Ireland; since they were all really the servants and creatures of the English commons, to whose care he had imprudently, at the very beginning, committed the management of the war in Ireland. It had been better to leave the nomination to the commons, than suffer traitors to fight him under the mask of loyalty, and deprive him of the resources of Ireland under his own name and authority.

The first beginnings of insurrection in Munster were owing to the exertions of the president, Sir Wm. St. Leger. Some robberies had been committed by a gang collected from different quarters; among the sufferers by which was Mr. Kingsmill, brother-in-law to the said president, who lost thereby a great number of cows and sheep: upon hearing of which, Sir William St. Leger came in two or three days with two troops of horse, in great fury, to Ballyowen; and being informed the cattle were driven to Eliogurty, he marched that way. As he set forth, he killed three persons at Ballyowen, who were said to have taken up some mares of Mr. Kingsmill; and not far off, at Grange, he killed or hanged four innocent labourers; at Ballymurrin six, and Ballygalburt eight; and burned several houses. From thence

captain Paisly marching to Armail, killed seven or eight poor men and women, whom he found standing abroad in the streets, near their own doots, inoffensively; and passing over the river Ewyer, marched to Clonalta, where meeting Philip Ryan, the principal farmer of the place, a very honest and able man, not at all concerned in the robberies, he without any enquiry, either gave orders for, or connived at his being killed, as appeared by his cherishing the murderer. The captain went from thence to meet the lord president; where several of the chief nobility and gentry of the country, being surprized at these rash and cruel proceedings, waited upon his lordship with their complaints, which were rejected, and the captain applauded for what he had done. Among these gentlemen were, James Butler, lord baron of Dunboyne; Thomas Butler, of Kilconnel; James Butler, of Kilvelly-lagher; Theobald Butler, of Armail; Richard Butler, of Ballynekill; Philip O'Dwyer, and several others of good quality.

“ They observed to the lord president how generally the people were exasperated by these inconsiderate cruelties, running distractedly from house to house; and that they were on the point of gathering together in great numbers, not knowing what they had to trust to, and what was likely to be their fate. They told him that they waited upon his lordship, to be informed how affairs stood, and that they coveted nothing more than to serve his majesty and preserve the peace, and desired that he would be pleased to

qualify them for it with authority and arms; in which case they would not fail to suppress the rabble, and secure the peace of the country. The president did not receive their representation and offer in the manner they expected; but in an hasty furious way, answered them, that they were all rebels, and that he would not trust one soul of them; but thought it more prudent to hang the best of them. And in this extraordinary humour he continued all the while these and other persons of quality, their neighbours, were waiting upon him. This made them all withdraw and return to their houses, much resenting his rudeness and severity, as well as very uncertain about their own safety; some of them imagining that this distrusting of their loyalty, and destroying of their reputations, was the preface to a design of taking away their lives. From Clonmell, Sir William St. Leger marched into the county of Waterford, and his soldiers in the way as they went and returned from the Wexford rebels, killed several poor harmless people, not at all concerned in the rebellion or in the plunder of the country; which also incensed the gentlemen of that country, and made them prepare for standing on their defence.”*

“ For what wicked purposes the noblemen and gentlemen of that province were thus basely insulted and threatened, so as to be driven to the necessity of arming in their own defence, may be gathered from a letter of the old earl of Cork (so notorious for his rapacity in the two former

* Carte's Ormond.

reigns) to the speaker of the English house of commons, on the twenty-second of August, 1642, wherein he says that he had, in that short space of time, "with the assistance of the earl of Barrymore, the lord viscount Kilmalloch, and his two sons; the lords Dungarvan and Broghill, by the advice of the lords justices and council, indicted the lords viscounts Roche, Mountgarret, Skerrin and Muskerry, and the barons of Dunboyne and Castleconnell, with the son and heir of the lord Cahir; Theobald Purcell, baron of Loughmore; Richard Butler, of Kilcash, Esq. brother to the earl of Ormond, with all other baronets, knights, esquires, gentlemen, freeholders, and popish priests, that either dwelled or had done any rebellious act in these counties, in number above eleven hundred persons." And he tells him further, "that he made bold to send these indictments unto him to be presented to the house, to the end that they may be there considered by such members thereof as are learned in the laws; that if they be wanting in any formal point of law, they may be reformed and rectified and returned unto him, with such amendments as they should think fit; and so if the house please to direct to have them all proceeded against to outlawry, whereby his majesty may be entitled to their lands and possessions, which I dare boldly affirm was at the beginning of this insurrection not of so little yearly value as £200,000." This proceeding he very properly and emphatically calls, "The Work of works."*

* Currie. Orrery's State Letters.

That no part of Ireland should be exempt from the scourge of civil war, the traitorous justices, and their rebellious creatures, displayed their mischievous activity in the province of Connaught, "which continued quiet for many weeks after the insurrection commenced; and did utterly dislike the proceedings of the insurgents." The county of Galway in particular, on the sixth of December, 1641, remained undisturbed. But on the twenty-third of the following month, the case seems to have been very different; which lord Clanrickard seems to impute (in a letter of that date to the duke of Richmond) to the mal-administration of the lords justices, as already related, both before and after the insurrection began. "All," says he, "are generally discontented with those who manage the affairs of state here, whom they charge with secret practising in both kingdoms, before the commotions began, to raise parties to destroy their religion, and divert and hinder the king's graces, intended towards them; and by that means to put them into desperation, that they may forfeit their lives and fortunes. And since the distempers began, the same persons have disposed of affairs, as if the design was to put the whole kingdom into rebellion, as now it is."

"His lordship, in a letter to the earl of Ormond in June following, grievously complained, "that insults offered to himself, within the limits of his government, were at least connived at; that one of his best manors was ravaged, by some of the army under Ormond's own

command; and that outrages were committed on others in that district; who had protections from the state; and who," says he, "fill these parts with their sad complaints, distracting most men's minds to desperation; which he doubted not would be of dangerous consequences to the whole province; as he then understood that the people began to prepare for their defence, and gathered all the forces they could make."

"In another letter his lordship says, "that the lords justices proceedings towards him were so laid, as if the design were to force him, and his, into rebellion."

"These outrages were now so much increased, that his lordship acquainted the justices, that since the time he made his former complaint to them, which was on the twenty-seventh of the preceding month of June, "scarce any day passed without great complaints of the captain of the fort of Galway, and the commander (lord Forbes) of a ship of war, then lying in the harbour, sallying out with their soldiers, and trumpet, and a troop of horse; burning and breaking open houses, taking away goods, preying of the cattle, with ruin and spoil, rather than supply to themselves; and all this committed, not only upon those who protected, but upon them who were most forward to relieve and assist them, not sparing mine," adds his lordship. "Frequently upon fancy, or rumor, without examining the occasion, the captain of the fort shooting his ordnance into the town, or threatening to do it; keeping disorderly sentries at

every gate, abusing those that offer to go out, threatening to take them prisoners to the fort, and to exercise martial law upon them; killing, and robbing poor people, that came to market, burning their fishing-boats, and not suffering them to go out, and no punishment inflicted upon any that committed these outrages; and, as I am well informed," adds he, "acting most things without any regard to the king's honor engaged, or any respect at all to me, in action, though much in profession."

"These particulars, my lords," proceeds lord Clanrickard, "do so distemper and disquiet all men's thoughts, even those that have been most forward to do service, that it is like to be of most dangerous consequence at this time, when Mayo, Sligo, Thomond, and other countries, have prepared forces, and are ready to fall upon my lord president and myself. I must therefore most humbly and earnestly intreat your lordships to take a speedy course, that the country may be quieted and satisfied that destruction is not intended against the well affected; that I may be repaired in my honor, and preserved in my authority, now grown into contempt; or that your lordships will be pleased to discharge me of the burden of this government, for, in this manner, I may not hold it, with disservice to his majesty, and danger and dishonor to myself."*

So great was their vigour beyond the law, that, besides overrunning whole provinces with fire, sword, massacre and depredation, they could

* Clanrickarde's Memoirs. Carte's Ormond.

pay attention to cruelties and persecution in detail. Gentlemen of property, surrendering to the government, to avoid any imputation of connexion with the insurgents, were imprisoned in the castle; some put to the rack, all condemned to tedious imprisonment, without admittance to bail, and ready to perish for want of sustenance. Such was the fate of John Read, entrusted with letters to his majesty, by the nobility and gentry of the Pale, who, on his arrival in Dublin, by written invitation of the justices, was imprisoned in the castle, and put to the rack. Lord Dunsany, Sir Patrick Barnwell of Killigrew, Sir John Netterville, Sir Andrew Aylmer, Gerald George Aylmer, Esqrs. Sir Nicholas White and son, John Talbot, Gerald Fitzgerald, and William Malone, Esqrs. all on their surrender underwent a similar fate. “ But although it was certainly known, that they never were in any manner connected with the insurgents, but on the contrary, that they had greatly suffered by their depredations, yet they were all committed prisoners to the castle, without being even admitted to the presence of the lords justices; after which they were examined, some by menace, others by torture, and most of them necessitated to subscribe to what the examiners pleased to insert. In consequence of those examinations, and perhaps other kinds of management, they were all indicted of high treason; and in the space of two days there were above three thousand indictments upon record,”*

* Carte's Ormond.

Leland, though far from being partial to catholics or Irishmen, is explicit enough on the designs of the popular leaders of the commons, in fomenting and protracting the civil wars of 1641, and the subserviency of all that served in this kingdom to their views.* The adjournment of the Irish parliament, when their advice and authority were most necessary. The overthrow of the constitution, by turning out all the lords and commoners who were but only thought proper to be suspected. The excluding all members, who would not take the oath of supremacy, and filling their places with clerks and other incompetent persons, neither chosen nor returned by town or county, or sitting by right of inheritance. What a mockery of legislature! Yet these vagrants had the effrontery to send over indictments, and petition the English commons for further severities against catholics. Such was the tyranny exercised by the king's enemies, his sworn enemies, over his most loyal subjects, under his name and authority; adjourning, proroguing, and at length abolishing the Irish parliament, by the authority of Charles, while he hisself a slave to his English parliament.

Least that should not sufficiently rouse the spirit of the people, the country was laid waste by fire and sword. Parties of horse and foot were dispatched in every direction, with strict orders to do military execution on all they met, sparing neither age or sex, especially to give no

* See ut supra, vol. ii. p. 475, 476.

quarters to the catholic clergy. Preventing, by every possible means, every communication with the king, whether by petition or address, and thwarting every attempt for pacification. The suspension of the royal graces, obtained from the king, by the agents of the Irish parliament. The denunciation of exterminating papists, substantiated by unprovoked massacres daily committed on innocent people, even women and children. One should think, that such atrocious acts of tyranny and cruelty would be quite sufficient to call any people to arms; certainly, the Scotch and English rebels could allege no such provocations; yet something more decisive must be done, to answer the purposes of the king's enemies in both kingdoms, and provoke the patient royalists to insurrection. Gentlemen of property were put to the rack, to criminate their sovereign, as a favourer of what they called the Irish rebellion; and such examinations, extorted by menaces and torture, garbled and mutilated, they sent to the king's enemies in the English commons, as means of defaming his majesty; thereby plainly demonstrating, that it was disloyalty to yield any further obedience to the king's enemies, misruling in his name.

The trimming earl of Ormond was no stranger to the plans of the faction in England, and their creatures here; and, while he professed loyalty to the king, he furthered the views of his enemies with all his might. Under pretence of supporting the royal authority, he did every thing in his power, or that the democratic leaders could wish,

to undermine and overthrow it. Under the mask of frankness, honor and loyalty, he was the most dangerous enemy to his king and country; for, with equal depravity, but more art and dissimulation than Parsons, he was the willing instrument of the cruelties commanded, and all the devices planned by the covenanters. He spoke fair, and acted false. In transmitting to the parliament a petition from the gentlemen of the Pale, his letter to the speaker contains insinuations not hinted to the petitioners; "that, indeed what concerned these gentlemen's coming to him of their own accord, and the course that had been afterwards held with them, was very truly set forth; and that he had not heard of any hostile act that had been done by any of them." But then he immediately subjoins, what certainly was never intended for their service, viz. "to enter into their hearts, and search what is there, is only peculiar to God. I am not able," adds he, "to judge whether any treason was hatched there or no." Ormond expected his share of the two millions five hundred thousand acres, confiscated by the English commons, agreeably to the indictments transmitted to them by their creatures, the justices.

To extend and confirm the insurrection, "on the twenty-third of February, 1642, the earl of Ormond, when on his march towards the Boyne, received the following resolution of the lords justices and council. "It is resolved, that it is fit, that his lordship do endeavour, with his majesty's forces, to wound, kill, slay, and destroy,

by all the ways and means he may, all the said rebels* and their adherents and relievers; and burn, spoil, waste, consume, destroy and demolish all the places, towns and houses where the said rebels are or have been relieved or harboured, and all the corn or hay there; and to kill and destroy all men there inhabiting, able to bear arms."†

"On the ninth of the following month, these lords justices and council dispatched another order to the earl of Ormond, then marching into the Pale, with an army of three thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to burn, spoil, and destroy the rebels of the Pale, without excepting any. By this order, "those who offered to come in, were in no other manner to be taken in, than as prisoners, taken by the strength of his majesty's army; and if any of them should come to the army, the soldiers were to seize on them, before they had access to his lordship; and afterwards they were to be denied access to his person."‡

"In this manner, such of those unhappy noblemen and gentlemen as had been driven from Dublin by their lordships proclamation, on pain of death, had never offended the govern-

* Irish and rebels were then synonymous terms.

† "Can any one think after this," says Dr. Warner, "that these lords justices had any reason to complain of the cruelties committed by the ignorant and savage Irish?"—Hist. of the Irish. Reb.

‡ "In the execution of these orders, the justices declare, that the soldiers slew all persons promiscuously, not sparing the women, and sometimes not the children."—Lel. Hist. Irel.

ment, or were desirous to return to their duty, if in any respect they had offended, were delivered up without distinction to the mercy of soldiers, who thirsted after nothing more ardently than the blood of the Irish; and whom their lordships had before incensed, by all manner of ways, against the nation in general."

" Doctor Nalson assures us, " that the severities of the provost-marshal, and the barbarism of the soldiers to the Irish, were then such, that he heard a relation of his own, who was a captain in that service, relate, that no manner of compassion or discrimination was shewn either to age or sex; but that the little children were promiscuously sufferers with the guilty; and that if any, who had some grains of compassion, reprehended the soldiers for this unchristian inhumanity, they would scornfully reply, ' why, nits will be lice,' and so would dispatch them." " Of Sir Charles Coote, provost-marshal of Ireland, it is said, that he would bid his Irish prisoners blow in his pistol, and then would discharge it."

" May twenty-eighth, 1642, the justices issued a general order to the commanders of all garrisons, not to presume to hold any correspondence or intercourse with any of the Irish or papists dwelling or residing in any place near or about their garrisons; or to give protection, immunity, or dispensation from spoil, burning, or other prosecution of war, to any of them; but to prosecute all such rebels, from place to place, with fire and sword, according to former commands and proclamations. Such," says Mr. Carte on this oc-

casion, “ was the constant tenor of their orders, though they knew that the soldiers, in executing them, murdered all persons promiscuously, not sparing, they themselves tell the commissioners for Irish affairs, in their letter of the seventh of June following, the women, and, sometimes not children.”

“ Preparatory to these destructive orders of the justices and council of Ireland, their partizans in the English parliament had procured a resolution to be passed, on the eighth of December 1641, never to tolerate the catholic religion in that kingdom; and in February or March following, the same parliament voted the confiscation of two millions and a half of acres of arable, meadow and pasture land, when very few persons of landed property were concerned in the insurrection. On occasion of this resolution concerning religion, lord Clanrickard expostulated, with just and spirited resentment, in a letter to the earl of Essex; who, it was then thought, would have come over lord lieutenant, with orders to execute it. “ It is reported,” says he, “ that the parliament hath resolved to make this a war of religion; that no toleration thereof is to be granted here; nor any pardons, but by consent of parliament; to send one thousand Scots into

* “ It was resolved, upon solemn debate, on the eighth of December, 1641, by the lords and commons in the parliament of England, that they never would give consent to any toleration to the popish religion in Ireland, or any other his majesty’s dominions. Which vote hath been adjudged a main motive (by the insurgents) for making the war a cause of religion.”—Borl. Irish Rebel, f. 52,

this kingdom, and yourself to come over lord lieutenant. If such be the resolutions of England, I should esteem it the greatest misfortune possible, to see you here upon such terms; but if you come over as becomes the person, honor, and gallant disposition of the earl of Essex, and not as the agent of persecution, it may produce much happiness to your own particular, and to this kingdom in general. And, if I may presume to speak my sense, it will not agree either with the honor or safety of England, to make use of such a power of Scots to destroy or over-run us here. My lord, recollect yourself, and draw together your best and bravest thoughts; consider that, by this violent proceeding, contrary to the religion of the whole kingdom, you will put us into desperation, and so hazard the destruction of many noble families."

"In consequence of the English vote for the confiscation of two millions and a half of Irish acres, the lords justices, in a private letter to the speaker of the house of commons in England, May 11th, 1642, without the rest of the council, besought the commons to assist them with a grant of some competent proportion of the rebels lands. "Here," says Warner, "the reader will find a key, that unlocks the secret of their iniquitous proceedings; and here we find the motives to the orders they gave for receiving no submissions; for issuing no proclamation of pardon at first, as the parliament had suggested; and, in short, for all their backwardness in putting an end to the rebellion, of which several oppor-

tunities offered; and consequently for their sacrificing the peace and happiness of the country, and the lives of thousands of their fellow-subjects." "But some kind of zeal," says the king himself on this occasion, "counts all merciful moderation luke-warmness, and is not seldom more greedy to kill the bear for his skin, than for any harm he hath done; the confiscation of men's estates being more beneficial, than the charity of saving their lives or reforming their errors."*

'Tis true, as Warner observes, this petition of the justices, for a competent share of the confiscated lands, is a key to their iniquitous proceedings; and the petition of a cousin of Sir Laurence Parsons, for compensation for the money he laid out in procuring witnesses to find the indictments, before a packed jury, is another key. Where no overt act could be produced against people only suspected, the expenditure was necessary; but their masters in England had their uses, in like manner, from the insurrection and confiscations. For the first: "When the leaders had once formed their project of further innovations, it became a necessary consequence, that their operations with respect to Ireland should be considered as subordinate to that great design, on which their power, their security, and their very being entirely depended. They affected the utmost zeal against the Irish insurgents: but the Irish insurgents served as a pre-

* Reliq. Sacr. Carolin. p. 85.

tence for securing to themselves a superiority in those commotions, which they foresaw must soon be excited in England. If any violent point was to be gained, the Irish rebellion was a ready instrument of their purposes. If they were opposed in any favourite design, it was imputed to the influence of the malignant party, encouraged by the popish rebellion of Ireland. If recusants were to be seized, if they were to continue guards about the house of commons, the Irish rebellion was the cause. It was the burden of every petition, for new modelling of religion, for subverting episcopacy, for putting the nation in a state of defence, for removing evil counsellors, for guarding against papists and their adherents." For the second: " Extensive forfeitures were the favourite object of the chief governours and their friends. The commons of England had very early petitioned, that the king would not alienate any of the escheated lands, that might accrue to the crown from the rebellion of Ireland: and they had lately proceeded in a scheme for raising money from the lands thus expected to escheate. A bill was framed for repaying those who should advance certain sums, for suppressing of the rebels, (as was pretended) by vesting them with proportional estates in Ireland, on terms highly advantageous to a new English plantation. It evidently tended to exasperate the malecontents, and to make all accommodation desperate: but it was not on this account less acceptable to the popular leaders. The king foresaw, and re-

gretted these consequences: but he was reduced to an humiliating state of submission; and consented to a bill which gave strength to his opponents. Their creatures in the administration of Ireland proceeded, at the same, indefatigably, in procuring indictments, not only against open rebels, but those whose conduct had been at all suspicious: and the fury of their prosecutions fell principally upon the gentlemen of the Pale.*

“ There is little doubt, but that Parsons at least, the more active and intriguing governour, held a regular correspondence with some popular leaders in the English commons, by means of a trusty agent dispatched for this purpose to London. The war between Charles and his parliament was on the point of flaming out in all its violence. His adversaries redoubled their assiduity to alienate the affections of the people from this unhappy prince. He had repeatedly expressed the utmost ardour for the service of Ireland: he had proposed to march in person against the Irish rebels. To efface the impressions made by his declarations of zeal, a bold

* “ If this severity was not dictated by the popular leaders in the English commons, it was at least highly acceptable to them, and favourable to their design. Some reasons, however, were to be assigned for it: and these are industriously collected, in a letter of the justices to the earl of Leicester, lord lieutenant. They are drawn from consideration of the mistaken lenity of the state on former rebellions; the extent and inveteracy of the present; the aversion of the Irish to the nation and religion of the English; the necessity of establishing the British power in Ireland upon a firm basis, and of perfecting such a general plantation through the whole

effort was to be made, to revive the rumour of some commission or allowance clandestinely granted to the rebels. The Irish chief governors were the willing agents in this design. They were, at the same time, impatient for some interesting discoveries relative to the extent of the original conspiracy, and, if possible, to involve the principal families of the Pale in the guilt of first contriving and concerting the insurrection. For these purposes, they resolved to supply the want of legal evidence, by putting some prisoners to the rack. . . . The examinations of the prisoners, or such parts of them at least as the justices thought fit to be selected, were carefully transmitted to the English parliament. Rumours were spread abroad, that they contained intelligence of great moment, and highly reflecting on the king's honour. But no particulars were divulged. None of the king's friends in either kingdom could be admitted to a view of these examinations. His secretary applied in his name to the lords justices for copies; but they were

kingdom, as had been established by the late king in Ulster. The letter, however, addressed to the lord lieutenant, was really intended for the English commons, and contained their favourite principles and topics with respect to Ireland. These zealous reformers had formerly accused lord Strafford of advancing that traitorous position, that Ireland was a conquered country. Now, it is urged and accepted, as an heinous charge against the Irish insurgents, that to extenuate their rebellion, they had presumed to assert that Ireland was not a conquered country. Such is the ease with which statesmen can affirm or deny the same general positions, just as their immediate purpose requires!"

totally devoted to his enemies, and forbore to communicate them to the king. The people were, in general, too violent, and too prejudiced, to perceive, that this extraordinary reserve was really a proof that no charge of authorizing or countenancing the rebels had been established against Charles.

“ It was natural for the king, on such an occasion to express the greater zeal for the service of his good subjects of Ireland. By a message to the two houses of parliament, he formally declared a firm resolution of going with all convenient speed to Ireland, to chastise those detestable rebels; of raising a guard for his person, and even of selling or pledging his parks and houses, if necessary for this service. The lords justices were alarmed: they sent the most discouraging representations to his majesty of the weakness and distresses of the army of Ireland, and the exhausted state of the country, where, they plainly insinuated, that the king could not appear with safety to his person, comfort to his subjects, and terroure to his enemies. But the peremptory and insulting answer of the English parliament, and the menaces with which they insisted that his design should be relinquished, had a still greater effect. The king's declarations of marching against the rebels were no longer heard, but in his replies to the parliament.”*

The catholic nobility and gentry of English descent, by the sanguinary persecution of the

* Leland, Vol. III. B. V. c. iii.

puritan governors of Ireland, and the threat of extermination held out against all catholics by the puritan faction in England and Scotland, now domineering in the neighbouring island; the precipitate confiscation of two millions and an half of acres, without legal trial; the barbarous massacres of their tenantry of every age and sex; the devastation of their property, burning of houses, corn, hay, prey of cattle, &c. were driven, by despair of their lives and fortunes, however reluctantly, to take up arms, and unite with the old Irish, as the only means of safety. Their situation indeed must be desperate, when compelled to resort to so difficult and precarious a support, as a cordial union of Irishmen. Irishmen, whom neither a common country, common interest, a common religion, the glory of their ancestors, their own disgrace, degradation, oppression and misery, the glory and advantages of union, the disgrace and ruin of disunion, could ever cement into one compact social body, for mutual preservation and common interest! It was peculiarly arduous, at this time, to combine the counsels and efforts of two races, exasperated and embittered by a thousand remembrances and prejudices, growing out of a continued exterminating war of many centuries against each other, waged with unrelenting cruelty and barbarity. Had they not been persecuted to desperation by the puritan government, they would willingly fulfil the offers they had made, and join the protestants against the insurgent natives. Their leaders consisted of those very men, who in part

concurred in the confiscation of Ulster, about thirty-three years before, or their immediate descendants; when they foolishly and wickedly congratulated themselves on the forfeitures of the antient families of the north, saying, "Their downfall will strengthen us!" Alas, human frailty! now was the time for sorrowful reflection on past follies. In their day they were what the protestant was in ours; they were, and considered themselves to be, the garrison of England, to keep Ireland in subjection. They employed cruelty and treachery, in the service of a cruel and treacherous master, to share the spoils of the unfortunate natives. What they could not effect in battle, they endeavoured to accomplish by fraud, by sowing division, bribery and circumvention. They did not shudder to hand the poisoned bowl, or strike a dagger to the heart of a guest, invited for that base, perfidious purpose. By law, they gave impunity to the murderer of an Irishman; and they went so far, as to put a price on his head. Alliance, fostership, gossip, all amicable intercourse, was prohibited with that proscribed race; extermination and confiscation were pronounced the only best means of civilizing them. These were the deeds of Catholics of English blood; shocking, inhuman deeds, that much diminish the compassion one would feel for their distress, during the civil wars of Charles. When they voted the attainder of the nobility of Ulster, and the confiscation of their property, they little dreamed, that a similar reverse would so soon overtake themselves. They

forgot, that there was a jealous God, visiting the sins of the fathers on the children. To their famous remonstrance,* let their acts of attainder against O'Neil, and the other ancient families of the north,† be contrasted. 'Tis fit it should. What is history, but a record of the past, to teach us by the examples of nations and ages. Here we are presented with a weighty admonition against disunion; whether on pretence of different descent, or religion. One party cordially joined in the destruction of another. They foolishly said, their downfall will strengthen. In the third part of a century, they had a bitter experience of the folly, as well as wickedness of their former policy. The ill they measured out to others, was now as abundantly measured back unto them. If they slew by the sword; they also fell by the sword. If they plundered the old natives, they were in their turn plundered by a fresh swarm of invaders. Let our modern parties reflect on this, and beware, that injustice is sooner or later requited. In spite of the fore-mentioned obstacles, the Irish made the attempt.

“ At Kilkenny they formed two different meetings on this occasion, viz, their general assembly and supreme council; of the first, were all the lords, prelates and gentry of their party; the latter consisted of a few select members, chosen by the general assembly, out of the different provinces, with the most rigorous exactness: those so chosen, having taken the oath of counsellors, were, after the recess of the assembly, accepted and obeyed as

* See p. 82.

† See vol. i. p. 393.

the supreme magistrates of the confederate catholics.

“ The supreme council consisted of about 24 members, some of every state, nobility, clergy and commons, who, during the intervals of the assemblies, had a kind of limited government, and power to call an assembly on occasion.” “ They framed to themselves a seal, bearing the mark of a long cross; on the right side a crown, on the left a harp with a dove above, and a flaming harp below the cross, and round about this inscription, ‘ pro Deo, pro rege, et patria Hibernia, unanimes,’ with which they sealed their credentials.”

“ Their oath of confederacy on this occasion, is thus recited by Borlase: “ I, A. B. in the presence of Almighty God, and all the saints and angels in heaven, promise, vow, swear, and protest to maintain and defend, as far as I may, with my life, power and estate, the public and free exercise of the true Roman catholic religion, against all persons that shall oppose the same. I further swear, that I will bear faith and allegiance to our sovereign lord king Charles, his heirs and successors; and that I will defend him and them, as far as I may, with my life, power and estate, against all such persons as shall attempt any thing against their royal persons, honors, estates and dignities; and against all such as shall directly or indirectly endeavour to suppress their royal prerogatives, or do any act or acts contrary to the regal government; as also the power and privileges of parliament, the lawful rights and privileges of the subjects; and

every person that makes this vow, oath and protestation, in whatsoever he shall do in the lawful pursuance of the same. And to my power, as far as I may, I will oppose, and by all ways and means endeavour to bring to condign punishment, even to the loss of life, liberty and estate, all such as shall either by force, practice, counsels, plots, conspiracies, or otherwise, do or attempt any thing to the contrary of any article, clause, or any thing in this present vow, oath, or protestation contained. So help me God."

"The first result of this union was, an humble and dutiful address to his majesty, setting forth, "that, having apprehended, with fulness of sorrow, the condition to which the misrepresentation of his majesty's ministers in Ireland, united with the malignant party in England, had reduced them; and sad experience having taught them, that a resolution was taken to supplant their nation and religion; they humbly conceived it necessary, after long patience, to put themselves in a posture of natural defence; with intention, nevertheless, never to disturb his majesty's government, to invade any of his high prerogatives, or oppress any of his British subjects, of what religion soever, that did not labour to oppress them. Which intention in the beginning of the troubles, they had solemnly sworn to observe; an oath, often since reiterated, lest the mis-guided and unauthorized motions of some among them should be construed to derogate from that faith and allegiance, which, in all humbleness, they confessed they owed and sincerely

professed unto his majesty. That before any act of hostility committed on their parts, they had, with all submission, addressed themselves, by petition, to the lords justices and council, for a timely remedy against the then growing evils; but that therein they had found, instead of a salve for their wounds, oil poured into the fire of their discontents, which occasioned such intemperance in the common people, that they acted some unwarrantable cruelties upon puritans, or others suspected of puritanism, which cruelties they really detested, had punished in part, and desired to punish with fulness of severity, in all the actors of them, when time should enable them to do it; though (added they) the measures offered to the catholic natives here, in the inhuman murdering of old decrepit people in their beds, women in the straw, and children of eight days old; burning of houses, and robbing of all kind of persons, without distinction of friend from foe, and digging up of graves,* and there burning

* "That they did not exaggerate in this particular, is plain from a letter of lord Clanrickard's, who says, "that while he was at Tyrellan, in treaty with lord Forbes, (the commander of a parliament ship of war), though lord Ranelagh, president of Connaught, was then in the fort of Galway, he saw the country on fire, his tenants houses and goods burnt, and four or five poor innocent creatures, men, women and children, inhumanly murdered by Forbes's soldiers; who having taken possession of Lady's-church in Galway, the antient burying place of the town, did, upon their departure, not only deface it, but digged up the graves, and burnt the coffins and bones of those that were buried there."—Carte's *Orm.* vol. iii. f. 109.

the dead bodies of our ancestors, have not deserved that justice from us.

“ In the conclusion of this address, we find the following zealous obtestation. “ We, therefore, with hearts bent lower than our knees, do humbly beseech your sacred majesty, timely to assign a place, where, with safety; we may express our grievances, and you may, with freedom, apply a seasonable cure unto them; and there you shall find our dutiful affections, attended with just cause of security in our faithfulness, and manifest arguments of our earnest desire to advance your service.”*

“ The order of government once adjusted, the provincial generals were chosen; Owen O’Nial for Ulster, Preston for Leinster; Garret Barry for Munster, colonel John Burke, for Connaught, with the title of lieutenant-general; as they hoped, that the earl of Clanricarde would unite with them, and accept the chief command of this province. Their ambassadors were dispatched to foreign courts to solicit succours. At the same time, to demonstrate their pacific dispositions, they prepared two petitions to be presented to the king and queen, together with a representation of those grievances, which they alledged as the occasion of their confederacy.”†

Dissentions, both open and secret, still weakened their cause. Clanrickard, a catholic nobleman of the first distinction, refused to join them; Lord Inchiquin, of the illustrious house

* Curry’s Rev. Civil Wars in Irel.

† Ireland.

of O'Brien, not long after declared against them. Even those who did join, fell out about precedence; as did lords Fermoy and Mountgarret, in Munster. Levies, hastily raised, without discipline, arms, ammunition, camp equipage, or experienced officers, could not be much relied on; but that disturbed as England was, on the eve of a civil war, she could not for a time send any considerable force to Ireland. Amid these difficulties, they dreaded a separation from England; as leading, in their opinion, to claims for the recovery of forfeited estates, of which the greater part of their own fortune consisted. On all these considerations, pacific measures appeared most eligible; and, accordingly, they solicited his majesty to appoint some trust-worthy persons to treat with them, on a subject so desirable to king and people.

“ The king, considering the occasion and circumstances, which had caused such a body of nobility and gentry, most of them of English race, to have recourse to arms; the apparent moderation of their demands, their earnest desire of laying their grievances before him, and submitting them to his determination, resolved to issue out a commission, under the great seal of England, to empower certain persons to meet with the principal of those who had sent the petition; to receive, in writing, what the petitioners had to say or propound; and to transmit the same to his majesty.

“ This commission was dated January 11th, 1642, and directed to the marquis of Ormond,

the earls of Clanrickard and Roscommon, the lord viscount Moore, Sir Thomas Lucas, Sir Maurice Eustace, and Thomas Burke, Esq. any three or more of them being authorised to meet and act for the purpose aforesaid. It was sent over to Ireland by the last of these commissioners, who delivered it to the marquis of Ormond on the thirtieth. He at the same time brought the lords justices a letter from the king, notifying the purport of it.

“ But these lords justices taking,” says the marquis of Ormond, “ this commission for a step towards the peace of the kingdom, and their own ruin;” and, “ being displeased that even a wish or consent should be discovered in any man, that the war, from which so many promised themselves revenge, and fortunes, should be any other way ended than with the blood and confiscation of all those whom they could propose to be guilty of the defection,” sought many artful expedients to hinder or delay the execution of it; and at length hit upon one, that for a while produced the wished-for effect. There came a trumpet to the supreme council of the confederate catholics, then sitting at Ross, with a safe-conduct from their lordships for such of their number as that council would employ to represent their grievances to the king’s commissioners above-mentioned. In the commission there happened to be the words “ odious rebellion,” applied to the proceedings of these catholics; which the lords justices not only inserted in their safe-conduct, but also added other words of their

own of the same provoking tendency; hoping thereby to prevent the intended pacification. But the confederates looking upon the whole to be the lords justices contrivance, and neither knowing nor expecting that any such language was in his majesty's commission, sent the trumpet back with a spirited answer, giving their lordships to understand, "that they were not, they thanked God, in that condition, as to sacrifice their loyalty to the malice of any; and that it would be a meanness beyond expression in them, who sought in the condition of loyal subjects, to come in the repute of rebels to set down their grievances, We take God to witness," added they, "that there are no limits to set to the scorn and infamy that are cast upon us; and we will be in the esteem of loyal subjects, or die to man.

"The confederate catholics did undoubtedly believe, that, in taking arms against this administration, which was entirely influenced by the prevailing faction in the English parliament, they were actually serving his majesty. This appears evidently from lord Clanrickard's letter to the king, October twenty-sixth, 1642, wherein he acquaints him, "that neither intreaties, threats, or protestations could draw most men from the belief, that those did really serve his majesty, who were in that commotion. And if vows and protestations (proceeds his lordship) may gain belief, I should be followed by thousands to serve your majesty in any other place. But as the state of this kingdom stands, such is their sense of the opposition given to your ma-

jesty by some faction of your parliament of England; of the injustice done them by those that govern here; and of the general destruction conceived to be designed against the natives, that almost the whole nation are united into one resolute body, to gain their preservation, or sell their lives at the dearest rate." And the earl of Castlehaven among other reasons for having joined the confederates against this administration, assigns the following. "I began to consider (says he) the condition of this kingdom, as that the state did chiefly consist of men of mean birth and quality; that most of them steered by the influence and power of those who were in arms against the king; that they had by cruel massacre, hanging and torturing, been the slaughter of thousands of innocent men, women and children, better subjects than themselves; that they, by all their actions, shewed that they looked at nothing but the extirpation of the nation, the destruction of monarchy, and by the utter suppression of the catholic religion, to settle and establish puritanism. To these (adds his lordship) I could be no traitor."*

"But the confederate nobility and gentry being soon after made sensible, that the words "odious rebellion" before-mentioned, were actually taken from the king's commission, and inserted by the lords justices in the safe-conduct for the aforesaid evil purpose, were resolved to disappoint so iniquitous a design; and therefore

* Deacid. Carr. Hibern. vol. ii. p. 122.

immediately wrote to the commissioners appointed by the king, "that they were ready to appear before them with a representation of their grievances." Accordingly the time and place of meeting proposed by the confederate catholics, which was the eighteenth of March, at Trim, were agreed to by these commissioners. But the confederates still resenting the imputation of rebellion, though taken from the king's commission, thought it necessary to "protest at the same time, in the presence of the God of truth, that they had been necessitated to take arms to prevent the extirpation of their nation and religion, threatened and contrived by their enemies; to maintain the prerogatives of his majesty's crown and dignity, and the interests of his royal issue, and for no other reason whatever." And, indeed, of the sincerity of this protestation, we shall presently find them giving unquestionable proofs."

"The justices now perceiving that abusive appellations could not provoke the confederates to absent themselves from the intended meeting, resolved to try what cruel and perfidious actions would do. For on the thirteenth of March (five days before the appointed time) they gained the consent of the council to an act, "which," says Mr. Carte, "could only serve to exasperate the confederates, and produce a retaliation that might inflame matters to such a degree, as to put a stop to all further treaty. Sir Richard Grenville had taken, at Longwood, Mr. Edward Lisagh Connor; and in the battle of Rathconnel,

on February the seventh, he had also taken one Dowdal, another gentleman named Betagh, and one Alymer, son of Garret Aylmer, a lawyer eminent in his profession, all gentlemen of considerable families. Sir Richard, though very severe in the prosecution of the war, was a man of great spirit and honor, and not likely to violate the quarter he had given. The lords justices therefore wrote to him that they had occasion to examine said prisoners, and ordered him to send them for that purpose to Dublin, under a safe guard. They signed, at the same time, another order to Sir Henry Tichbourne, to examine only if these prisoners were so taken, and to cause them immediately to be executed by the martial law.

“ But even this detestable expedient to prevent the appointed meeting proved as unsuccessful as the former. For, “ on the before-mentioned eighteenth of March, 1642, by virtue of his majesty’s commission, the earl of St. Alban and Clanrickard, the earl of Roscommon, Sir Maurice Eustace, and others, the king’s commissioners, met the commissioners of the confederate catholics, at Trim.” These latter were, lord Gormanstown, Sir Lucas Dillon, knt. Sir Robert Talbot, Bart. John Walsh, Esq. and others; at which time in the name of the catholics of Ireland they presented the following remonstrance to his majesty’s commissioners, which was by them transmitted to his majesty.*

* Civil Wars of Ireland.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTIE,

MOST GRACIOUS SOVERAIGNE,

“ Wee your majestie's most dutifull and loyall subjects, the catholiques of your highness kingdome of Ireland, being necessitated to take armes for the preservation of our religion, the maintenance of your majestie's rights and prerogatives, the naturall and just defence of our lives and estates, and the liberties of our country, have often since the beginning of these troubles attempted to present our humble complaynts unto your royall view; but we are frustrated of our hopes therein by the power and vigilance of our adversaries, (the now lords justices and other ministers of state in this kingdome) who by the assistance of the malignant partie in England, now in armes against your royall person, with less difficultie to attain the bad ends they proposed to themselves, of extirpating our religion and nation, have hitherto debarred us of any access to your majestie's justice, which occasioned the effusion of much innocent blood, and other mischiefs in this your kingdom, that otherwise might well bee prevented. And whereas of late notice was sent unto us of a commission granted by your majestie to the right honorable the lord Marques of Ormond, and others, authorising them to heare what we shall say or propound, and the same to transmit to your majestie in writeing, which your majestie's gracious and

princely favour, wee finde to bee accompanied with these words, viz. (albeit wee doe extremely detest the odious rebellion which the recusants of Ireland have without ground or colour rayseed against us, our crown and dignitie) which words wee doe in all humilitie conceive to have proceeded from the misrepresentations of our adversaries; and therefore doe protest, we have been therein maliciously traduced to your majestie, haveing never entertayned any rebellious thought against your majestie's most faithfull and loyall subjects; and doe most humbly beseech your majestie soe to owne and ayowe us; and as such we present; unto your majestie these ensueing grievances, and causes of the present distempers.

“ Imprimis. The catholiques of this kingdome, whome no reward could invite, no persecution enforce, to forsake that religion professed by them and their ancestors for thirteen hundred years, or thereabouts, are since the second yeare of the reigne of queene Elizabeth, made incapable of places of honour or trust, in church or commonwealth; their nobles become contemptible, their gentry debarred from learning in universities, or public schools within this kingdom; their younger brothers put by all manner of employment in their native country, and necessitated (to their great discomfort, and impoverishment of the land) to seek education and fortune abroad; misfortunes made incident to the said catholiques of Ireland (their numbers, qualitie, and loyaltie considered) of all the nations of Christendome.

2ndly, That by this incapacitie, which in respect of their religion was imposed upon the said catholiques; men of mean condition and qualitie, for the most part, were, in this kingdome, imployed in places of greatest honour and trust, who being to begin a fortune, built it on the ruines of the catholique natives, att all tymes lying open to be discountenanced, and wrought uppon; and who (because they would seeme to be carefull of the government,) did, from tyme to tyme, suggest false and malicious matters against them, to render them suspected and odious in England; from which ungrounded informations, and their many other ill offices, these mischiefes have befallen the catholiques of Ireland. First, the opposition given to all the graces and favours that your majesty, or your late royall father, promised, or intended to the natives of this kingdom; secondly, the procuring of false inquisitions, upon faigned titles, of their estates, against many hundred years possession, and no travers, or petition of right, admitted thereunto, and jurors denying to find such offices were censured even to public infamie, and ruine of their estates, the findeing thereof being against their consciences, and their evidences; and nothing must stand against such offices taken of great and considerable parts of the kingdome, but letters pattents under the great seale; and if letters pattents were produced, (as in most cases they were) none must be allowed valid, nor yet sought to be legally avoyded: soe that, of late tymes, by the underhand workeing of Sir Wil-

liam Parsons, knight, now one of the lords justices heere, and the arbitrary illegal power of the two impeached judges in parliament, and others drawn by their advise and counsell, one hundred and fifty letters pattents were avoyded in one morning; which course continued untill all the pattents of the kingdome, to a few, were by them and their associates declared void; such was the care those ministers had of your majestie's great seale, being the publique faith of the kingdome. This way of service in shew only pretended for your majestie, proved to your disservice, and to the immoderate and too tymely advancement of the said ministers of state, and their adherents, and nearly to the utter ruine of the said catholiques.

3dly, That, whereas your majestie's late royall father, king James, having a princely and fatherly care of this kingdome, was graciously pleased to graunt several large and beneficial commissions, under the great seale of England, and severall instructions, and letters under his privie signett, for the passing and securing of the estates of his subjects here by letters pattents under the great seale, and letters pattents accordingly were thereof passed, fynes payed, old rents increased, and new rents reserved to the crowne. And the said late king was further graciously pleased to grauntt att several tymes, to send divers honorable persons of integritie, knowledge and experience, to examine the grievances of this kingdome, and to settle and establish a course for redress thereof. And whereas your majestie

was graciously pleased, in the fourth year of your raigne, to vouchsafe a favourable hearing to the grievances presented unto you, by agents from this kingdome; and thereupon did graunt many graces and favours unto your subjects thereof, for securitie of their estates, and redress for remove of heavy pressures, under which they have long groaned; which acts of justice, and grace extended to this people by your majestie, and your said royall father, did afford them great content, yet such was, and is yet the immortall hatred of some of the said ministers of state, and especially of the said Sir William Parsons, the said impeached judges and their adherents, to any welfare and happiness of this nation, and their ambition to make themselves still greater and richer, by the total ruine and extirpation of this people; that under pretence of your majestie's service, the publique faith involved in those grants was violated, and the grace and goodness intended, by two glorious kings successively, to a faithful people, made unprofitable.

4th. The illegall, arbitrary, and unlawfull proceedings of the said Sir William Parsons, and one of the said impeached judges, and their adherents and instruments, in the court of warda, and the many wilfully erroneous decrees and judgments of that court, by which the heirs of catholique noblemen, and other catholiques, were most cruelly and tyrannically dealt withall, destroyed in their estates, and bred in dissolution and ignorance, their parents debts unsatisfied,

their sisters and younger brothers left wholly unprovided for, the auncient and appearing tenures of mesne lords unregarded, estates valid in law, and made for valuable considerations, avoyded against law, and the whole land filled upp with the frequent swarmes of escheators, feodaryes, pursuivants, and others, by authoritie of that court.

5th. The said catholiques, notwithstanding the heavy pressures before-mentioned, and other grievances, in part represented to your majestie by the late committees of both houses of parliament of this kingdom, (whereunto they humbly desire that relation be had, and redress obtained therein,) did readily, and without reluctance, or repineing, contribute to all the subsidies, loanes, and other extraordinary graunts made to your majestie in this kingdome, since the beginning of your raigne, amounting unto well neere one million of poundes, over and above your majestie's revenue, both certain and casual; and although the said catholiques were in parliament, and otherwise the most forward in graunting the said summes, and did beare nyne parts of ten in the payment thereof, yett such was the power of their adversaries, and the advantage they gained by the opportunitie of their continuall address to your majestie, to increase their reputation in getting in of those moneys, and their authoritie in the distribution thereof to your majestie's greate disservice, that they assumed to themselves to be the procurers thereof, and represented the said catholiques as obstinate and refractory.

6th. The armie raised for your majestie's service here, at the great charge of the kingdome, was disbanded by the pressing importunitie of the malignant partie in England, not giving way that your majestie should advise therein with the parliament here; alledging the said army was popish, and therefore not to be trusted; and although the world could witness the unwarrantable and unexampled invasion made by the malignant partie of the parliament in England, upon your majestie's honour, rights, prerogatives, and principall flowers of your crowne; and that the said Sir William Parsons, Sir Adam Loftus, knight, your majestie's vice-treasurer of this kingdome, and others their adherents, did declare that an army of ten thousand Scotts was to arrive in this kingdome, to force the said catholiques to change their religion, and that Ireland could never doe well without a rebellion, to the end the remaine of the natives thereof might be extirpated, and wagers were laid at a generall assizes and publique meetings, by some of them then, and now imployed in places of greate profitt and trust in this kingdome, that within one yeare no catholique should be left in Ireland; and that they saw the antient and unquestionable privileges of the parliament in England, in sending for and questioning, to, and in, that parliament, the members of the parliament of this kingdome, sitting the parliament here; and that by speeches, and orders printed by authoritie of both houses in England, it was declared that Ireland was bound by the statutes made in

England, if named, which is contrary to known truth, and the laws here settled for fowre hundred yeares, and upwards; and that the said catholiques were thoroughly enformed of the protestation made by both houses of parliament of England against catholiques, and of their intentions to introduce lawes for the extirpation of catholique religion in the three kingdomes: and that they had certain notice of the bloody execution of priests there, only for being priests, and that your majestie's mercy and power could not prevaile with them to save the lyfe of one condemned priest; and that the catholiques of England being of their own flesh and blood, must suffer, or depart the land, and consequently others not of so near a relation to them, if bound by their statutes, and within their power. These motives, although very strong and powerfull to produce apprehensions and fears in the said catholiques, did not prevaile with them to take defensive armes, much less offensive; they still expecting that your majestie in your high wisdome might be able in a short tyme, to apply seasonable cures, and apt remedies unto those evils, and innovations.

7th: That the committees of the lords and commons of this kingdome, having attended your majestie for the space of nyne months, your majestie was graciously pleased, notwithstanding your then weightie and urgent affayrs in England and Scotland, to receive, and very often with great patience to hear their grievances, and debates thereof at large; during which de-

bates, the said lords justices, and some of your privy councill of this kingdome, and their adherents, by their malicious and untrue informations conveyed to some ministers of state in England, (who since are declared of the malignant partie,) and by the continuall solicitation of others of the said privy councill, gone to England of purpose to cross and give impediment unto the justice and grace your majesty was inclined to afford to your subjects of this realme, did as much as in them lay, hinder the obtayning of any redress for the said grievances, and not prevailing therein with your majestie as they expected, have by their letters and instruments, laboured with many leading members of the parliament there, to give stopp and interruption thereunto, and likewise transmitted unto your majestie, and some of the state of England, sundery misconstructions and misrepresentations of the proceedings and actions of your parliament of this kingdome, and thereby endeavoured to possess your majestie with an evill opinion thereof; and that the said parliament had no power of judicature in capitall causes, (which is an essentiall part of parliament) thereby aymeing at the impunitie of some of them, and others, who were then impeached of high treason; and at the destruction of this parliament: but the said lords justices and privie councill, observing that no art or practice of theirs could be powerfull to withdraw your majestie's grace and good intentions from this people, and that the redress graunted of some particular grievances was to be

passed as acts in parliament; the said lords justices, and their adherents, with the height of malice, envieing the good union long before settled, and continued between the members of the house of commons, and their good correspondence with the lords, left nothing unattempted, which might rayse discord, and disunion in the said house; and by some of themselves and some instruments of theirs in the said commons house, private meeteings of great numbers of the said house were appointed, of purpose to rayse distinction of nation and religion, by meanes whereof a faction was made there, which tended much to the disquiet of the house, and disturbance of your majestie's and the publique service; and after certain knowledge that the said committees were by the water side in England, with sundry important and beneficial bills, and other graces, to be passed, as acts in that parliament; of purpose to prevent the same, the said faction, by the practice of the said lords justices, and some of the said privy councill and their adherents, in a tumultuous and disorderly manner, on the seventh day of August, 1641, and on severall days before, cryed out for an adjournment of the house, and being over-voted by the voices of the more moderate partie, the said lords justices and their adherents told severall honourable peers, that if they did not adjourne the lords house on that day, being Saturday, that they would themselves prorogue or adjourne the parliament on the next Munday following, by meanes whereof, and of great numbers of proxies

of noblemen, not estated, nor at any time resident in this kingdome, (which is destructive to the libertye and freedom of parliaments here,) the lords house was on the said seventh day of August adjourned, and the house of commons by occasion thereof, and of the faction aforesaid, adjourned soone after, by which meanes those bills and graces, according to your majestie's intention, and the great expectation and longing desires of your people, could not then pass as acts of parliament.

“ Within few dayes after this fatal and enforced adjournment, the said committees arrived at Dublin, with their dispatch from your majestie, and presented the same to the lords justices and councill, expressing a right sence of the said adjournment, and besought their lordships, for the satisfaction of the people, to require short heads of that part of the dispatch wherein your majestie did appeare in the best manner unto your people, might be suddainely conveyed unto all the partes of the kingdome, attested by the said lords justices, to prevent despaire, or misunderstanding. This was promised to be done, and an instrument drawen, and presented unto them for this purpose, and yett, (as it seemes desireing rather to add fuell to the fire of the subjects discontentes, than quench the same,) they did forbear to give any notice thereof to the people.

8th. After this, certain dangerous and pernicious petitions, contrived by the advice and counsell of the said Sir William Parsons, Sir Adam Loftus, Sir John Clotworthy, knights,

Arthure Hill, Esq; and sundry other malignant partie, and signed by many thousands of the malignant partie in the citty of Dublin, in the province of Ulster, and in sundry other of the partes in this kingdome, directed to the commons house in England, were at publique azzizes and other publique places made known and read, to many persons of quallitie in this kingdome, which petitions contayned matters destructive to the said catholiques, their religion, lives and estates, and were the more to be feared by reason of the active power of the said Sir John Clotworthy in the commons howse in England in opposition to your majestie, and his barbarous and inhumane expressions in that howse against catholique religion, and the professors thereof. Soone after an order conceived in the commons house of England, that no man should bowe unto the name of Jesus, (at the sacred sound whereof all knees should bend) came to the knowledge of the said catholiques, and that the said malignant partie did contrive and plott to extinguish their religion and nation. Hence it did arise that some of the said catholiques begun to consider the deplorable and desperate condition they were in, by a statute law here found among the records of this kingdome, of the second yeare of the raigne of the late queen Elizabeth (but never executed in her tyme, nor discovered till most of the members of that parliament were dead) by which no catholique of this kingdome could enjoy his life, estate, or lyberty if the said statute were executed; whereunto no impediment remayned but

your majestie's prerogative and power, which were endeavoured to be clipped, or taken away, as is before rehearsed; then the plot of destruction by an army of Scotland, and another of the malignant partie in England, must be executed; the feares of those twofold destructions, and their ardent desire to maintain that just prerogative, which might encounter and remove it, did necessitate some catholiques in the North, about the twenty-second of October 1641, to take armes in maintenance of their religion, your majestie's rights and the preservation of life, estate and libertie: and immediately thereupon tooke a solemn oath, and sent several declarations to the lords justices and council to that effect; and humbly desired they might be heard in parliament, unto the determination whereof, they were ready to submit themselves, and their demands; which declarations being received, were slighted by the said lords justices, who by the awaying part of the said councill, and by the advice of the said two impeached judges, glad of any occasion to put off the parliament, which by the former adjournment was to meete soone after, caused a proclamation to be published on the twenty-third of the said month of October 1641, therein accuseing all the catholiques of Ireland of disloyaltie, and thereby declareing that the parliament was prorogued untill the twenty-sixth of February following.

9th. Within few dayes after the said twenty-third day of October 1641, many lords and other persons of ranke and qualitie, made their

humble address to the said lords justices and council, and made it evidently appeare unto them, that the said prorogation was against law, and humbly besought the parliament might sit according to their former adjournment, which was then the only expedient to compose or remove the then growing discontents and troubles of the land; and the said lords justices, and their partie of the council, then well knowing that the members of both houses throughout the kingdom (a few in and about Dublin only excepted,) would stay from the meeting of both houses, by reason of the said prorogation, did by proclamation two dayes before the time, give way the parliament might sitt, but so limited, that no act of grace, or any thing else for the people's quiet or satisfaction, might be propounded or passed. And thereuppon, a few of the lords and commons appeared in the parliament house, who in their entrance at the castle-bridge and gate, and within the yard to the parliament house doore, and recess from thence, were invironed with a great number of armed men with their match lighted, and muskets presented even at the breasts of the members of both houses, none being admitted to bring one servant to attend him, or any weapon about him within the castle-bridge. Yet how thin soever the houses were, or how much overawed, they both did supplicate the lords justices and council, that they might continue for a tyme together, and expect the coming of the rest of both houses, to the end they might quiet the troubles in full parliament,

and that some acts of securitie graunted by your majestie, and transmitted under the great seale of England, might pass to settle the minds of your majestie's subjects. But to these requests, soe much conducing to your majestie's service, and settlement of your people, a flatt denial was given; and the said lords justices and their partie of the councill, by their workeing with their partie in both howses of parliament, being then vry thyn as aforesaid, propounded an order should be conceaved in parliament, that the said discontented gentlemen took armes in rebellious manner, which was resented much by the best affected of both howses; but being awed as aforesaid, and credibly informed, if some particular persons amongst them stood in opposition thereunto, that the said musketteeres were directed to shoot them att their goeing out of the parliament house, through which terror, way was given to that order.

10th. Notwithstanding all the before-mentioned provocations, pressures, and indignities, the farr greater, and more considerable parte of the catholiques, and all the cittyes and corporations of Ireland, and whole provinces, stood quiet in their howses; whereupon the said lords justices and their adherents, well knowing that many powerfull members of the parliament of England stood in opposition to your majestie, made their application, and addressed their dispatches, full fraught with calumnies and false suggestions against the catholiques of this kingdome, and propounded unto them, to send

severall great forces to conquer this kingdome; those of the malignant partie here were by them armed; the catholiques were not only denyed armes, but were disarmed, even in the citty of Dublin, which in all succession of ages past continued as loyall to the crowne of England, as any citty or place whatsoever: all other auntient and loyall cittyes and corporatt townes of the kingdome, (by means whereof principally the kingdome was preserved in former tymes) were denyed armes for their money to defend themselves, and express order given by the said lords justices to disarm all catholiques in some of the said cittyes and townes: others disfurnished were inhibited to provide armes for their defence; and the said lords justices and councill having received an order of both houses of parliament in England to publish a proclamation of pardon unto all those who were then in rebellion (as they termed it) in this kingdome, if they did submit by a day to be limited, the said Sir William Parsons, contrary to this order, soe wrought with his partie of the councill, that a proclamation was published of pardon only in two countyes, and a very short day prefixed, and therein all freeholders were excepted; through which every man saw that the estates of the catholiques were first aymed att, and their lives next. The said lords justices and their partie haveing advanced their designe thus far, and not finding the success answerable to their desires, commanded Sir Charles Coote, knight and baronet deceased, to march to the county of Wicklow, where he burnt,

killed, and destroyed all in his way in a most cruell manner, man, woman, and childe; persons that had not appearing wills to doe hurt, nor power to execute it. Soone after, some foot companies did march in the night by direction of the said lords justices, and their said partie, to the town of Sauntry in Fingall, three miles off Dublin; a country that neither then, nor for the space of four or five hundred years before, did feelee what troubles were, or war meant; but it was too sweet and too near, and therefore fitt to be forced to armes. In that towne innocent husbandmen, some of them being catholiques, and some protestants taken for catholiques, were murdered in their inn, and their heads carryed triumphant into Dublin. Next morning, complaint being made of this, no redress was obtayned therein; whereupon some gentlemen of qualitie, and others the inhabitants of the country, seeing what was then acted, and what passed in the said last march towards the county of Wicklowe, and justly fearing to be all murthered, forsooke their howses, and were constrayned to stand together in their own defence, though ill provided of armes or ammunition. Hereupon a proclamation was agreed upon at the board, on the thirteenth of December 1641, and not published or printed till the fifteenth of December, by which the said gentlemen, and George Kinge by name, were required to come in by, or upon the eighteenth of the said month, and a safetie was therein promised them. On the same day another proclamation was published, summoning the lords dwelling

in the English pale near Dublin to a grand council on the seventeenth of the said month; but the lords justices and their partie of the council, to take away all hope of accommodation, gave direction to the said Charles Coote, the said fifteenth day of the said month of December, to march to Clontarffe, being the house and towne of the said George Kinge, and two miles from Dublin, to pillage, burn, kill, and destroy all that there was to be found: which direction was readily and particularly observed, (in a manyfest breach of public faith) by meanes whereof, the meeteing of the said grand council was diverted: the lords not daring to come within the power of such notorious faith-breakers: the consideration whereof, and of other the matters aforesaid, made the nobilitie and gentry of the English pale, and other parts of the province of Leinster, sensible of the present danger, and put themselves in the best posture they could for their naturall defence. Wherefore they employed lieutenant collonel Read to present their humble remonstrance to your sacred majestie, and to declare unto you the state of their affayres, and humbly to beseech relief and redress; the said lieutenant collonel, though your majestie's servant, and imployed in publique trust, (in which case the law of nations affords safety and protection) was without regard to either, not only stopped from proceeding in his imployment, but also tortured on the rack at Dublin.

11th. The lord president of Munster, by the

11th. 11th. 11th.

direction of the said lords justices, (that province being quiet) with his accomplices, burnt, preyed, and put to death men, women and children, without making any difference of qualitie, condition, age, or sex in several parts of the province; the catholique nobles and gentlemen there were mistrusted and threatened, and others of inferior quality trusted and furnished with armes and ammunition. The province of Connaught was used in the like measure; whereupon most of the considerable catholiques in both the said provinces were inforced (without armes or ammunition) to look after their safety, and to that end did stand on their defence; still expecting your majestie's pleasure, and always ready to obey your commands. Now the plot of the said ministers of state and their adherents being even ripe, applications were incessantly by them made to the malignant partie in England, to deprive this people of all hopes of your majestie's justice or mercie, and to plant a perpetual enmity between the English and Scotish nations, and your subjects of this kingdome.

12th. That whereas this your majestie's kingdome of Ireland in all successions of ages, since the raigne of king Henry the Second, sometime king of England, and lord of Ireland, had parliaments of their owne, composed of lords and commons in the same manner and forme, qualified with equall liberties, powers, privileges and immunities with the parliament of England, and onely depend of the king and crowne of England and Ireland: And for all that tyme, no

prevalent record or authentique president can be found that any statute made in England could or did bind this kingdome, before the same were here established by parliament; yet upon untrue suggestions and informations, given of your subjects of Ireland, an act of parliament, intituled, an act for the speedie and effectual reducing the rebells in his majestie's kingdome of Ireland to their due obedience to his majestie and the crowne of England; and another act, intituled, an act for adding unto and explayneing the said former act, was procured to be enacted in the said parliament of England, in the eighteenth yeare of your majestie's raigne; by which acts, and other proclamations, your majestie's subjects unsummoned, unheard, were declared rebells, and two millions and a halfe acres arrable, meadow and profitable pasture, within this kingdome, sold to undertakers for certain summes of monie; and the edifices, loghs, woodes, and bogges, wastes and other their appurtenances, were thereby mentioned to be granted and past gratis. Which acts the said catholiques doe conceive to have been forced upon your majestie; and although void, and unjust, in themselves to all purposes, yet containe matter of evil consequence and extreame prejudice to your majestie, and totally destructive to this nation. The scope seeming to aim at rebells only, and at the disposition of a certain quantitie of land; but in effect and substance all the landes in the kingdome, by the words of the said acts, may be distributed, in whose possession soever they were,

without respect to age, condition or qualitie; and all your majestie's tenures, and the greatest part of your majestie's standing revenue in this kingdome, taken away; and by the said acts, if they were of force, all power of pardoning and of granting those lands, is taken from your majestie; a president that no age can instance the like. Against this act the said catholiques do protest, as an act against the fundamental lawes of this kingdome, and as an act destructive to your majestie's rights and prerogatives, by collour whereof, most of the forces sent hither to infest this kingdome by sea and land, disavowed any authoritie from your majestie, but do depend upon the parliament of England.

13th. All strangers, and such as were not inhabitants of the citty of Dublin, being commanded by the said lords justices, in and since the said month of November 1641, to depart the said citty, were no sooner departed, than they were by the directions of the said lords justices pillaged abroad, and their goods seized upon and confiscated in Dublin; and they desireing to returne under the protection and safetie of the state, before their appearance in action, were denied the same; and divers others persons of rank and qualitie, by the said lords justices employed in publique service, and others keeping close within their doores, without annoying any man, or siding then with any of the said catholiques in armes, and others in severall parts of the kingdome liveing under, and having the protection and safetie of the state, were sooner pil-

laged, their howses burnt, themselves, there tenants and servants killed and destroyed, than any other, by the direction of the said lords justices. And by the like direction, when any commander in chiefe of the army, promised, or gave quarter or protection, the same was in all cases violated; and many persons of qualitie, who obtained the same, were ruined before others; others that came into Dublin voluntarily, and that could not be justly suspected of any crime, if Irishmen or catholiques, by the like direction were pillaged in Dublin, robbed and pillaged abroad, and brought to their trial for their lives. The cittyes of Dublin and Corke, and the antient corporatt townes of Drogheda, Yeoghal and Kingsale, who voluntarily received garrisons in your majestie's name, and the adjacent countrys who relieved them, were worse used, and now live in worse condition than the Israelites did in Egypt, so that it will be made appeare, that more murders, breaches of publique faith and quarter, more destruction and desolation, more crueltie, not fitt to be named, were committed in Ireland, by the direction and advice of the said lords justices and their partie of the said councill in less than eightene months, than can be paralleled to have been done by any christian people.

14th. The said lords justices and their adherents have, against the fundamental lawes of the lande, procured the sitting of both howses of parliament for several sessions, (nyne parts of ten of the naturall and genuine members thereof being absent, it standing not with their safety to

come under their power) and made upp a considerable number in the howse of commons of clerks, souldiers, serveing men, and others not legally, or not chosen at all, or returned, and having no manner of estate within the kingdome; in which sitting, sundry orders were conceived, and dismisses obteyned of persons before impeached of treason in full parliament; and which passed or might have passed some acts against law and to the prejudice of your majestie and this whole nation. And dureing these troubles, termes were kept, and your majestie's court of cheefe place, and other courts sate at Dublin, to no other end or purpose, but by false and illegall judgments, outlawries, and other capital proceedings, to attaint many thowsands of your majestie's most faithful subjects of this kingdome, they being never summoned, nor having notice of those proceedings; sheriffs, made of obscure meane persons, by the like practice, appointed of purpose; and poore artificers, common souldiers and meniall servants returned jurors, to pass upon the lives and estates of those who came in upon protection and public faith.

Therefore the said catholiques, in the behalfe of themselves and of the whole kingdome of Ireland, doe protest and declare against the said proceedings, in the nature of parliaments, and in the other courts aforesaid, and every of them, as being heynous crimes against law, destructive to parliaments and your majestie's prerogatives and authoritie, and the rights and just liberties of your most faithful subjects.

Forasmuch, dread sovereigne, as the speedy applycation of apt remedies unto these grievances and heavie pressures, will tend to the settlement and improvement of your majestie's revenue, the prevention of further effusion of blood, the preservation of this kingdome from desolation, and the content and satisfaction of your said subjects, who in manifestation of their duty and zeal to your majestie's service, will be most willing and ready to employ ten thousand men under the conduct of well experienced commanders in defence of royal rights and prerogatives; they therefore most humbly beseech your majestie, that you will vouchsafe gracious answers to these their humble and just complaynts; and for the establishment of your people in a lasting peace and securitie, the said catholiques doe most humbly pray, that your majestie may be further graciously pleased to call a free parliament in this kingdome, in such convenient tyme as your majestie in your high wisdom shall think fitt, and the urgencie of the present affaires of the said kingdome doth require; and that the said parliament be held in an indifferent place, summoned by, and continued before, some person or persons of honour and fortune, of approved faith to your majestie, and acceptable to your people here, and to be timely placed by your majestie in this government, which is most necessary for the advancement of your service, and present condition of the kingdome: in which parliament, the said catholiques doe humbly pray these or other their grievances may be redressed; and that in the said

parliament, a statute made in this kingdome in the tenth yeare of king Henry the Seventh, commonly called Poyning's Act, and all acts explaining, or enlarging the same, be by a particular act suspended during that parliament, as it hath beene already done in the eleventh yeare of queen Elizabeth, upon occasions of far less moment than now doe offer themselves; and that your majestie, with the advice of the said parliament, will be pleased to take a course for the further repealing, or further continuance of the said statutes, as may best conduce to the advancement of your service here, and peace of this your realme; and that no matter, whereof complaint is made in this remonstrance, may debarr catholiques, or give interruption to their free votes, or sitting in the said parliament, and as in duty bound they will ever pray for your majestie's long and prosperous raigne over them.

Wee the undernamed being thereunto authorised, doe present and signe this remonstrance in the behalfe of the catholiques of Ireland, dated this seventeenth day of March, 1642.

Gormanstown.

Lucas Dillon.

Robert Talbott.

John Walsh.

According to your majestie's commission to us directed, we have received this remonstrance, subscribed by the lord viscount Gormanstown, Sir Lucas Dillon, knight, Sir Robert Talbott, bart. and John Walsh, esq. authorised by, and in the behalfe of the recusants of Ireland, to present the same unto us to be transmitted to your

sacred majestie, dated the seventeenth day of March, 1642.

Clanrickard and St. Albans. Roscommon.
Moore. Mau. Eustace.

Unhappy Charles, surrounded by implacable enemies at home, he turned his eyes to Ireland for relief, conscious that he might derive some advantages from a country, which, guided by evil counsellors, he so long oppressed; and which was still harassed, and goaded to distraction, by the agents of his rebel subjects, governing in his name and by his authority. The overtures of the catholic insurgents were agreeable to his interest and his wishes; but two material obstacles lay in the way of accommodation. Nothing could be so unpopular in England, as any concession to the Irish insurgents; hated as Irishmen, abhorred as idolaters, enemies of the protestant faith. The justices, as well as their party in England, were utterly averse to a peace with the Irish, and used every stratagem to prevent it. Agents from the English commons, Goodwin and Reynolds, came over with money and instructions; part of whose mission was, to impede the treaty of pacification. These truths did not escape Leland, no friendly writer to the Irish. “ In despite of the inveterate aversion against popery, which it was fashionable to express, and which Charles was particularly interested to affect, he found it necessary, about the time of the engagement at Edge-hill, to accept the services of papists, and particularly to arm those of

Lancashire. The parliament inveighed against this impiety: the king recriminated, and accused them of employing numbers of the same profession in their army. The parliament declared their resolution of inviting the Scots to assist against the enemies of the protestant religion. Charles justly dreaded the spirit of his northern subjects, and saw the necessity of strengthening himself against an union so formidable. For this purpose he seems to have turned his eyes to Ireland, with an attention stricter than the distractions of England had hitherto admitted. The insurrections of that kingdom had proved of most essential service to his enemies. Could they be allayed, the power with which he had unwarily invested the parliament, of assuming the conduct of the war in Ireland, would be rendered useless and void: they would be deprived of one great popular pretence for raising men and money, and an army of royalists might in due time be transported from Ireland to join the king's standard."*

Yes, 'tis natural to think that he would be desirous of removing his enemies from the government of Ireland; but the question remains, had he a free choice of his ministers or viceroys in Ireland? could he appoint any person, or could any one accept the station, without the approbation of the English commons? did he not grant them a veto on the appointment, when he unwarily committed to them the management of the war in Ireland? a war, which could not be carried on without supplies from them;

* Leland. Hist. Irel. vol. iii.

and, therefore, made all public officers, civil and military, dependant on them. During the war, they had the executive and the legislative, the sword and the purse; and therefore, none disagreeable to them could hold any high station, none that was not subservient; hence it was, that they were enabled to frustrate all the endeavors of the king and Irish insurgents towards a pacification. 'Tis true, at length, Sir William Parsons was displaced; but one of the same faction, Sir Henry Tichburne, succeeded him. According to Mr. Carte, his majesty, offered to create the marquis of Ormond lord lieutenant; which tender, for some reason or another he declined. It may have been, as his biographer or eulogist relates; but, in despite of all his glosses and colouring, the change would not have materially served either the king or his Irish subjects. Ormond gave many proofs of his inveteracy to the catholics, and his partiality to the English rebels. His opposition to the cessation, and his eagerness for protracting the Irish war, so injurious to the king, so favourable to his enemies; his attempt to break off the treaty, shew clearly whose partizan he was. His services were not the less acceptable to a set of canting hypocrites, on account of a congenial dissimulation that veiled them. They were the more efficacious, as, under the mask of loyalty to the king, he fought against him under his own colours, and by his own authority; like the rest of the traitors exercising royal authority in Ireland at that time.

At length the marquis condescended to notice his majesty's reiterated commands, and gave notice to the supreme council of the catholic convention, that he would receive their committee at Drogheda; where, accordingly, they waited on him, the twenty-third of June 1643. The arrogance of his manner; his cavilling about words, forms and etiquette; and his absolute rejection of the most reasonable propositions, for example, that violaters of the peace should be prosecuted by both parties, plainly bespoke him an enemy to the king, and to his country; as plainly as when he offered the justices, for the sum of ten thousand pounds, to recommence the war, and break off the treaty. His refusal to ratify the necessity of dissolving the packed parliament, which had ejected forty-six of its members, and afterwards excluded a much greater number, by disqualifying from a seat all who would not take the oath of supremacy, filling their places with clerks and attornies by their own arbitrary act, without election or constituents; all these overt acts of treachery, as well as others in the sequel, demonstrate that the English rebels came up to his price.

“ On the twenty-third of June, 1643, the commissioners of the confederate catholics presented themselves before the marquis of Ormond in his tent, near Castle-Martin, in the presence of divers colonels, captains, and others of his majesty's army, his lordship sitting in his chair covered, and the Irish commissioners standing bare-headed. After several passages between

them, all tendered in writing, the latter gave his lordship a copy of the authority they had received from the supreme council of the confederate catholics at Kilkenny, in these words:

“ Whereas his majesty’s most faithful subjects, the confederate catholics of Ireland, were enforced to take arms, for the preservation of their religion, for the defence of his majesty’s just prerogatives and rights, and for the maintenance of the rights and liberties of their country, laboured to be destroyed by the malignant party; and, whereas his majesty in his high wisdom, and in his princely care of his said subjects welfare and safety, and at their humble suit, that his majesty might be graciously pleased to hear their grievances, and vouchsafe redress therein, did direct there should be a cessation of arms, and thereupon did direct the right honourable the marquis of Ormond, to treat of, and conclude the said cessation with the said confederate catholics; know ye, that the supreme council, by the express order and authority of the said catholics, by them conceived and granted in their general assembly at Kilkenny, on the twentieth day of the last month of May; and in pursuance of the said order and authority, reposing special trust and confidence in the wisdom, circumspection, and provident care, honor and sincerity of our very good lords, Nicholas lord viscount Gormanstown, Donogh lord viscount Muskerry, and our well-beloved Sir Lucas Dillon, Knight, Sir Robert Talbot, Bart. Tirlagh O’Niel, Esq. Geoffry Brown, Esq. Ever Macgennis, Esq. and

John Walsh, Esq. have constituted, appointed, and ordained the said Nicholas lord viscount Gormanstown, Donogh lord viscount Muskerry, &c. our commissioners, and do, by these presents, give and grant to our said commissioners, or any five or more of them, full power and authority to treat with the said lord marquis of Ormond, of a cessation of arms, for one whole year, or shorter, and to conclude the same for the time aforesaid, upon such terms, conditions, or articles, as to the commissioners aforesaid, in their judgments, consciences, and discretions, shall be thought fit and expedient; by these presents ratifying and confirming whatever act or acts our said commissioners shall do or execute concerning the said cessation. Given at Kilkenny, the twenty-third of June, 1643.

Mountgarret. Castlehaven. Audley. Malach. archep. Tuam. Fleming, archep. Dublin. Mauriti. de Rupe et Fermoy. Netterville. Nicholas Plunkett. Edmund Fitzmorice. Pat. Darcy. Robt. Lynch. Rich. Belling."

" But a difference arising upon two points, viz. the dissolution of the present Irish parliament, and liberty to use hostilities against all such persons as should appear in arms against either party, (which the commissioners of the confederate catholics were ordered to insist upon, and the marquis of Ormond peremptorily refused,) caused the treaty to be adjourned to the following month.

" One reason, among many others, for insisting

on the dissolution of that parliament, was, "its having expelled by an arbitrary order, all those members who had been indicted in the illegal manner, and by the iniquitous means already mentioned; and its afterwards having passed another order, that no persons should sit either in that, or any future parliament, till they had taken the oath of supremacy." By the first of these orders, forty-six members were expelled, and their places supplied by "clerks, soldiers, serving-men, and others not legally, or not at all chosen or returned; and by the last, a much greater number, unexceptionable," says Warner, "in all respects but that of their religion."

"The other point was insisted upon, from a well-grounded suspicion, that the Scottish forces in Ulster, that had taken the covenant, and received their pay from the English parliament, now in open rebellion against the king, would reject the cessation, as they soon after actually did. And of the reasonableness of that suspicion, the marquis of Ormond himself was then probably convinced, from his knowledge of their disposition and circumstances; at least, on the eighth of March following, he certainly was so, when he told lord Digby, "that the soldiers and common people in that quarter, were so deeply infected, that he had little hopes they could be unanimously, or in any considerable number, drawn to serve the king against the rebels in England or Scotland: of the new Scots," adds he, "your lordship sees there is no hope:" and yet, even at this juncture (as we shall hereafter

see) when these forces were guilty of frequent breaches of the cessation then concluded, and did at last openly reject it, he refused to join with the confederates, or even to countenance them by his authority, to make just reprisals upon them.

“ During this adjournment of the treaty, a small, but ill intended incident, had like to have frustrated all hopes of its success. One captain Farrer, in the government’s service, had been taken prisoner by the confederates; while one Synott, a captain among the confederates, was in the same condition with the government. The lords justices and council desiring to have Farrer exchanged for Synott, directed the following notice to the supreme council of the confederates. “ We, the lords justices and council, do declare, if captain Farrer be forthwith released by the rebels, and safely sent hither, that forthwith, upon his coming so released, we give order for the releasing Synott, lately employed as captain among the rebels, out of prison, the jailor’s just dues being first paid; and will then permit him to depart freely, without interruption.”

“ The following spirited answer shews, how highly the confederates resented this (as they deemed it) new insult on their loyalty.

“ We do not know to whom this certificate is directed; for we avow ourselves, in all our actions, to be his majesty’s loyal subjects. Neither shall it be safe hereafter, for any messenger to bring any paper to us, containing other language than such as suits with our duty, and the affec-

tions we bear to his majesty's service; wherein some may pretend, but none shall have more real desires, to further his majesty's interests, than his majesty's loyal and obedient subjects.

Mountgarret, Muskerry, &c.

Shortly after the sending of this answer, Sir William Parsons, Sir Adam Loftus, Sir Robert Meredith, and Sir John Temple, privy-counsellors, were charged before the council, by the lords Dillon and Wilmot, Sir Faithful Fortescue, and others, with having, by divers ways and means, abused the trust reposed in them by his majesty, to their several offices and employments; and with having traitorously endeavoured to withdraw his majesty's army in Ireland, from its obedience, to side with the rebels in England. "Upon this charge, they were all imprisoned in the castle of Dublin." But we find, "that they were so dear to those English rebels, and so highly valued by them, that they avowed them for theirs, by offering in exchange for them, three of the king's chief commanders, whom they had prisoners in London."*

What an afflicting portrait did this long aggrieved land and people exhibit to the eye of humanity, at that memorable period; so much resembling scenes we have witnessed in more respects than one. A sanguinary faction, called puritans, struggling for dominion on the ruins of church and state; and a fraternity acting a

* Currie. Hist. Rev.

second part in the tragedy; and, through the irresoluteness of Charles, holding the reigns of government. The majority of catholics persecuted by government, while exerting themselves strenuously to assist the king in his distress. The descendants and relatives of the old Irish, dispossessed by James and Charles, struggling to recover their rightful inheritance, illegally and perfidiously ravished from them, revenging their wrongs on the planters, who supplanted them. These they dispossessed, and sent under escort to Dublin, to be shipped off to their own country. Crowds of these distressed people dwelt wretchedly in Dublin, suffering, not as protestants, but as planters; and it was for their relief, that a charitable contribution of cast cloths was recommended from the pulpit to the faithful in London.* Strange and singular anecdote in history. People, inhabiting a country abounding

* This singular donation of cast cloths to the protestants of Ireland, furnishes abundant matter for reflection. What a degrading donation! To what a wretched state does domestic dissensions reduce parties! A people, inhabiting a country, producing plenty for food and raiment, treated as beggars, depending on an eleemosynary supply of old cloths. With what treachery their English protestant politicians acted towards those poor people! They had received large sums of money, levied by voluntary contribution for the relief of Irish protestants. This money they converted to the purpose of raising war against his majesty, and then recommended the defrauded paupers to be comforted with a benevolence of cast cloths. Q. Was that the origin of Plunket-street market for old cloths? Whatever was the religion of England, we see they dealt fraudulently and tyrannically with the Irish. As papists, the extermination of the Irish professing the same faith, and the seizure of their property,

with wool, reduced to the deplorable necessity of accepting a charitable donation of cast cloths! If the agitators in England and Scotland had permitted the Irish to live in peace, Irish protestants needed not their cast cloths. While other parties scuffle for political rights, the Scotch, like Tartars and Arabs, made war as plunderers, ravaging the land, and sending the prey to their native country.

If we turn our eyes from distraction in council, collision of hostile factions, the treachery of state officers, to their operations in the field, we shall find but little flattering, on that side of the picture, to ease our chagrin at the sight of the other. When the insurgents are described as undisciplined, ill clothed, destitute of tents, arms, ammunition, and other implements of war, we may rely on the account, as probably not exaggerated. If companions in misfortune be

by any means, however inhuman, was a fundamental principle of their policy. The treacherous invitation to murderous banquets, assassination by poison or dagger, with impunity, by English law. It was a gross insult to their distressed fellow-protestants, offered by the English parliament, to withhold the liberal contribution of benevolence; and commute it for a fresh appeal to the feelings of British humanity, towards obtaining a cargo of Plunket-street ware; but we see it fell far short of the cruelty and treachery, exercised by English catholics, towards their Irish brethren in the faith. But could reason, mutual advantage, their common interest and stake in a common country, could christianity, prevail on the catholics and protestants of Ireland to live in concord and amity, as partners in the same firm, they need neither dread being plundered or slaughtered by aliens, or stand in need of the insulting gift of worn garments.

any alleviation of pain, the army fighting against them was not in a much better condition; as the petitions of the officers, and various applications to king and parliament, for a needful supply, would evince. Petty hostilities, skirmishing and plunder, had a wide range over the country, but for a length of time nothing occurred, interesting to the reader curious in military history, except the shocking inhumanity, and savage barbarity, of the regicide faction.

In this scene of desolation and distress, the northern insurgents more especially were desponding of the cause they engaged in, when a great character appeared on the theatre of warfare, sprung from a family fertile in heroes, a family the first, most illustrious, long the pride, ornament and central pillar of Ireland. “Owen O’Nial, whose arrival had been so long and so anxiously expected, after a tedious voyage from Dunkirk, was landed in the county of Donegal, with one hundred officers, and a considerable supply of arms and ammunition. Their hopes instantly revived; a body of forces was appointed to attend their favourite general, and conducted him triumphantly to the fort of Charlemont.

“Owen O’Nial had served in the Imperial and Spanish armies with reputation. He was governour of Arras, when the French besieged this town in 1640; and, though obliged to surrender upon honourable terms, yet his defence gained him the respect even of his enemy. Experience had formed him to an able and skilful

soldier; quick in discerning, diligent in improving any advantage offered by the enemy; more circumspect than enterprizing; of a genius peculiarly suited to defence, and excellent at protracting a war; qualities of especial use in that service which he was now to undertake. His knowledge of the world, his prudence, his sobriety and caution, appeared to greater advantage, as they were contrasted by the ignorance and rudeness, the intemperance and levity of Sir Phelim. To the secret mortification of this his kinsman, Owen was unanimously declared, by the northern Irish, head and leader of their confederacy.

“ The new general began with expressing his detestation of those barbarities exercised by Sir Phelim O’Nial and his brutal followers. The remains of their prisoners he dismissed in safety to Dundalk; he inveighed with unusual warmth against those, who had disgraced their cause by murder and massacre; he set fire to the houses of some more notoriously guilty, and declared, that he would join with the English, rather than suffer any such wretches to escape their just punishment. As he expected to be speedily besieged in Charlemont, he proceeded to make every preparation necessary for defence. But the Scottish forces still lay inactive, and the English were not permitted to attack him; so that he had full leisure to collect and discipline his men. The whole force of the province amounted to twenty thousand foot and one thousand horse: so that Leven, who had the sole command of this

body, seemed to have nothing more to do, but march against an enemy unable to resist him, to crush them at once, and hunt their miserable remains from every part of Ulster. He passed the Bann, and advanced into the county of Tyrone. Hence he addressed a letter to Owen O’Nial, expressing his concern, that a man of his reputation should come to Ireland for the maintenance of so bad a cause. Owen replied, that he had better reasons to come to the relief of his country, than his lordship could plead for marching into England against his king: and, as if this short correspondence should be the sole object of his march, Leven again retired, and delivering up the army to Monroe, whom he warned to expect a total overthrow, if Owen O’Nial should once collect an army, he returned to Scotland. A conduct so extraordinary was by the Irish naturally imputed to cowardice, and inspired them with contempt of the Scottish enemy. Monroe remained inactive; O’Nial continued to form his forces; while the army which should oppose him, Scottish and English, the troops raised by parliament, and those commissioned by the king, were all alike neglected by England, and soon obliged to struggle, in their respective quarters, with the miseries of nakedness and famine.

“ Thus were the rebels in every province of Ireland suffered to collect and encrease their force, to possess stations of strength and consequence, in some places to confine the English within narrow bounds, while they themselves

ranged at large, and had free possession of the open country. The defeats, which their parties received from the loyalists, were of less prejudice to their cause, as the enemy could not improve their advantage, but suffered them to re-assemble and repair their losses. To encrease their confidence, a second, and more important, embarkation was made for their support at Dunkirk. Wexford was in their possession. Two vessels first arrived in the port laden with arms and ammunition. Colonel Thomas Preston, brother of lord Gormanston, a soldier of experience and reputation, soon followed in a ship of war, attended by two frigates, and six other vessels laden with ordnance for battery, field pieces, and other warlike provisions, five hundred officers, and a considerable number of engineers. Twelve other vessels fitted out at Nantz, St. Maloes, and Rochelle, soon arrived with artillery, arms, and ammunition, together with a considerable number of Irish officers and veteran soldiers, discharged from the French service by cardinal Richelieu, and sent into Ireland, thus amply provided, and assured of farther succours.”*

Meanwhile the rebellion raging in England, and each party studious of establishing an interest here, left no expedient untried to gain partizans. The parliamentary agents brought twenty thousand pounds for the support of the English army in Ireland, large promises, and the covenant. The king granted titles and promotions. His majesty wished for an accommodation

* Leland, Vol. III. B. V. c. v. p. 177.

with the catholics, hoping much from their warm professions of zealous loyalty. The parliament and their creatures, the governors, Ormond, the Scots and puritans, universally favoured the parliament. The intrigues of the royalist and parliamentary faction, in conjunction with other causes, at length operated so effectual a schism among the confederate catholics, as never could be closed, as shall appear in the sequel. Many were perplexed what party to embrace, in the distraction of so many contending factions. If they obliged the justices, they strengthened the hands of the king's enemies. If they acted with Ormond and the army, they did the same; because these were at the command of the justices, enemies to the pacification, a measure of vital importance to the king's interest; and because however Ormond's words sounded loyalty, his acts were against the royal, and in favour of the parliamentary interest. If one sided with the confederates, he would be set down as a rebel to the English interest; and if with the Scots and puritans, he became a declared rebel against the king. If the royal party prevailed, either the abolition of parliament, or such limitation of their authority as would reduce them to a species of privy council, might naturally be expected. If the commons prevailed, the overthrow of the monarchy was equally probable: in either case, the constitution perished. Amid such a complication of parties, and adverse interests, the choice was embarrassing, when neutrality could hardly be maintained.

The slightest inspection of them melancholy times, will shew the futility of Leland's language, when he says, that "the justices were not without hopes, that a popish nobleman, of such extensive property, (the marquis of Clanrickard) might be seduced from his allegiance." To whom? To the king? Was it by joining the most loyal portion of his subjects? Would he retain his loyalty by joining the justices, and Ormond, against the pacification, and generally against the king's interest; acting all the while, with a treacherous hypocrisy, in the king's name, and by his authority? Would he prove his loyalty, by joining the standard of the rebel Scots and the puritans? I see no other alternative left him but a kind of armed neutrality, which he endeavoured to support, as governor of Galway; relying on a small garrison, and numerous followers, still keeping his trust for the king, until he might see an end to the war.

After all the delays and obstacles thrown in the way of the cessation, it was at length concluded at Sigginstown, on the 15th of September, 1643. The distresses of the Irish army, commanded by him, and the impossibility of supporting them, without more adequate supplies than could be obtained from the English commons, or the justices, moving Ormond to concur therein more than attachment to his king or country. Clanrickard, perhaps, was influenced by similar circumstances, to recommend that important measure. Accordingly, after the conclusion of the treaty, its beneficial consequences

to the government, and the army, were immediately felt.

“ Sir Philip Percival, commissary-general of the provisions of the king's forces, declared in a memorial which he afterwards gave in to the English parliament, “ that both the state, and the army, were, at that juncture, in the greatest distress; that the streets of Dublin had no manner of victuals, many times for one day; that the soldiers would not move without money, shoes and stockings; for want of which many had marched barefooted, and had bled much on the road; and that others, through unwholesome food, had become diseased and died.

“ That the Irish all this while, subsisted very well, carrying their cattle, especially their milch-cows, with them into the field.

“ That the state at Dublin had no money in the treasury; sometimes wanting means even to bury their dead commanders; that before the cessation was concluded, the government's army was so oppressed with wants, and their necessities were so great, besides the discontent of the officers, that there was no need of any other enemy than hunger and cold to devour them suddenly.

“ That the confederate catholics had, all this time, three armies on foot in Leinster, well furnished with necessaries and ordnance; and that they had perfect intelligence of this distress of the state, and the condition of the English forces, knowing the prevailing strength of their own armies.”

The lords justices and council, in a letter of the eighth of May, 1643, confessed, "that they then found the royal army suffering under unspeakable extremities of want of all things necessary to the support of their persons, or maintenance of a war; and that they had no visible prospect by sea or land, of being able to preserve the kingdom for his majesty from utter destruction of the remnant of his good subjects there."

"But they were now to be relieved from this extreme distress by those very men whom they had hitherto considered and treated as their worst and most implacable enemies. For the confederate catholics freely obliged themselves on the conclusion of this treaty, to pay to the marquis of Ormond thirty thousand pounds, for the present subsistence of his majesty's army. And in order to "vindicate themselves from the calumny that was raised against them, as if they were rebels, and had resolved to throw off the king's government, they further engaged to transport several thousands of their best men to Scotland, to reinforce his majesty's army there; which engagement they afterwards performed, with great honor to themselves, and not less advantage to his majesty's service."*

Whether this cessation and support of Charles was, or was not, an act of prudence, was some time afterwards questioned. It was surely an act, to which they were not bound to accede, by any gratitude to the Stuart family, their unconsci-

* Curry's Rev. Civil Wars in Irel.

entious oppressors, plunderers, and persecutors of their religion; nor by any national interest. It was barely the selfish transaction of a faction, predominant in the catholic convention, the Anglo-Irish nobility and gentry; who, dreading a demand for restitution, deemed the English connexion for the preservation of their estates, almost entirely consisting of land fraudulently and tyrannically forfeited from the antient proprietors; absolutely necessary. Their selfish policy availed them nothing at the conclusion of the war. What they apprehended from the old owners of the land, came upon them in a new shape, from their cherished British connexion. Cromwell, the victorious general of the English rebels, distributed their lands among his officers and soldiers.

Meanwhile, they were not long suffered to enjoy the cessation, for it was scarce sooner published than rejected by the Scots in Ulster, still, nominally at least, under the marquis of Ormond's command. For, upon the first notice of it, the English parliament, "sent them fresh supplies of money, arms and provisions; with orders on their arrival to denounce fire and sword to all that should embrace it, and to march in a body, with all necessary provisions, towards Dublin."

But these Scots did not, it seems, wait for the parliament's orders. For we find the supreme council complaining to the lords justices, on the fifteenth of October, that "the Scots, who, not long before, had come over in great numbers to

Ireland, had, by the slaughter of many innocents without distinction of age or sex, possessed themselves of large territories in the north; and that since the notice given them of the cessation, they had continued their former cruelties, upon the persons of weak and unarmed multitudes." Wherefore they humbly proposed to their lordships, "that these violators of the cessation, and secret enemies of his majesty's good subjects, of what nation soever might be persecuted, and that, while the succours for his majesty were in preparation, their own proceedings against them, might no way be imputed as a desire to violate the cessation."

"But this proposal being rejected by their lordships, and the hostilities of the Scots still continuing and increasing, a stop was, for a while put to those supplies which the confederate catholics had engaged to send to the king; a great part of them becoming absolutely necessary for their own defence. Lord Inchiquin was sensible of this impediment, when he told the marquis of Ormond, in a letter from Oxford, February, 1643, that though the Irish were extremely relied on, yet he feared they were unable to do more than defend themselves from the Scots, who, he doubted would prove more dangerous rebels to his majesty. And lord Digby also, writing to the marquis about the same time, "made no question but that the Irish, in case they were rid of their apprehensions of the Scots in Ulster, would engage thoroughly, numerous, and entirely in his majesty's service.

“ The marquis of Ormond was himself conscious, that the increasing hostilities of the Scots prevented the confederates from sending the promised supplies to his majesty ; though he afterwards charged them with their delay in the performance, as a breach of their engagement. For, excusing himself to prince Rupert, touching the procuring of arms and ammunition from them for the service of his majesty’s ships under his command, he told him, that he had little hopes of prevailing with them ; and that they were not very much to blame, the Scots being yet in Ireland in great numbers, and fresh reports coming daily, that they would not only begin the war with them in England afresh, but endeavour to impose the taking of their covenant on the people of Ireland by force of arms.”*

During this period of the war, nothing of military transactions, interesting to the reader, occurs. The country was ravaged by petty hostilities, and disgraced by many cruelties. A bible-mad fanatic, Forbes, landed in Munster, accompanied by the noted fanatical minister, Hugh Peters, and there sought no other laurels, but such as robbers and murderers wear. Tired of his executions, as Leland calls his incursions in that province, he re-embarked at Galway. There, not satisfied with executions of the living, he dug up the graves, and burnt the bones and coffins found there, with a senseless fury : blessed spirit of the covenant ! Inchiquin, to the dis-

* Civil Wars of Ireland.

grace of an illustrious descent, having revolted from the king to the parliament, vied with the covenanters in barbarous cruelties. Leland, either through inattention or design, classes this nobleman with the royalists. When relating the petty battle of Liscarrol, he says, that the rebels fled before the royalists; and when he mentions his having succeeded his father-in-law, William St. Leger, in the presidency of Munster, without informing his reader by whose authority he was appointed. The industry and candour of Dr. Curry have left a fairer account, both of his defection from the royalists, his cruelties and persecutions of popery, which he had professed, and it seems deserted, in adopting the conduct, if not the oath, of the covenanters.

“ About this time died Sir William St. Leger, lord president of Munster; and the king having appointed the earl of Portland to succeed him in that charge, lord Inchiquin, who was married to Sir William’s daughter, and had solicited and expected that presidentship after his father-in-law’s decease, was now so much incensed by the disappointment, that he was easily persuaded by lord Broghill to reject the cessation, and to receive the English parliament’s commission for the presidentship of Munster, in opposition to the king’s appointment. “ In this capacity, he performed many considerable services for that parliament, taking great store of plunder from the Irish, and not sparing,” says Ludlow, “ his own kindred; but if he found them faulty, hanging them up without distinction.”

But one of his most memorable services on this occasion was, his barbarous exploit at Cashel; “where, having brought together an army, and hearing that many priests and gentry thereabouts had retired with their goods into the church of that city, he stormed it, and put three thousand of them to the sword, taking the priests even from under the altar.”*

“At the same time that he himself deserted the king’s service, he persuaded his brother, lieutenant-colonel Henry O’Brien, to deliver up Wareham to the English parliament, and to come away with his whole regiment to Ireland. This lieutenant colonel was afterwards taken prisoner by the confederates, and in great danger of an unhappy end, in revenge for a Roman catholic dean, whom his brother had lately caused to be hanged, and for his own crime in delivering Wareham to the parliament. But lord Castlehaven, alleging, “that for this very reason he ought, for a testimony of their own loyalty, and of their detestation of his breach of trust, to be sent as a present to the king, to be punished as his majesty should see fit; he was saved from present execution, and afterwards exchanged.”

Though Inchiquin’s disappointment was the real cause of his defection, yet he pretended another, and more extraordinary reason for it, to the marquis of Ormond, viz. “an information he had received from the English women, of a common talk of some of the Irish, that they de-

* Carte’s Ormond.

signed to seize Cork;" and upon this frivolous pretence, he drove all the magistrates and catholic inhabitants out of that city; as also out of Youghal and Kinsale, "allowing them to take no more of their goods with them, than what they could carry on their backs, seizing all the provisions and effects in their houses." Lord Digby, by his majesty's command, recommended these distressed people to the marquis of Ormond's care. "The king," says he, "is very sensible of their sad condition, and will not soon forget the inhumanity of that lord."

But Inchiquin, in order to engage his officers and soldiers in the same measures he had embraced himself, caused an oath to be administered to them, by which they obliged themselves to endeavor the extirpation of popery, to carry on the war against the Irish, notwithstanding any command, proclamation, or agreement to the contrary; and to submit to no peace or conditions with them, but by consent and allowance of king and parliament. This was then a favorite mode of expression with those who fought, in the king's name, against his person.*

The Irish were treated by their English masters in a most extraordinary manner. War was waged against them in the king's name, by the Irish government; and another war, in the name and by authority of parliament, conducted by Monroe and Inchiquin! Nor did the cessation terminate these disorders; for which, and several

* Curry's Rev. Civil Wars in Irel,

other reasons, great numbers were displeased with it, as untimely, and unfavourable to the Irish interest. It was urged, that no pledge had been obtained for their civil rights, and liberty of conscience, not even for the observance of the treaty itself. That supplies, given to the Irish government, would be a free gift to the rebel English parliament; who, by solemn public engagements, were bound to support the English army in Ireland, which by their own declaration they were unable to do. They, who had declared to the Irish agents, sent to solicit relief, that "if five hundred pounds could save their kingdom, it could not be spared." That to act the part of loyal subjects, and fight the battles of a king, who qualified them odious and detestable rebels against his crown and dignity, were to betray their own cause, and put arms into the hands of an avowed enemy, whose enormous appetite for Irish forfeitures was long experienced, from his piratical inquisition into defective titles. That to stop the career of victory, and allay the ardour of their forces, in their triumphant progress, was a measure most desirable to their enemy, and of most disastrous consequences to this kingdom. That, as it was apparent, whichever party prevailed, whether king or parliament, they would be considered and treated as rebels, the most probable chance of security lay, in a separation from England, and the erection of Ireland into an independent state. That the natural resources of the country, for agriculture, pasturage, mines, manufactures

and commerce, were so great and manifest, as to open a fair prospect of a speedy progress in population, industry, riches and power; and that, if England attempted to recover her abused dominion here, the Irish, under a good constitution, and a well supported executive, were able to defend themselves; nor would foreign alliances fail any nation found worthy thereof. These were the sentiments of many of the clergy, and the best informed among the laity, especially those supplanted and plundered by the Stuarts; not the vain desire of establishing their religion in all its former pomp and opulence, as Leland insinuates.

That these opinions were not ill grounded, appears from the distress of their enemies, the Irish government, and the partizans of parliament here, related from authorities beyond any suspicion of exaggeration. “ The melancholy plea of necessity never could be urged with greater force than on the present occasion.

“ Dublin, from whence all Leinster and Connaught were to be supplied, as well as Derry and Colerain, had long since been reduced to the most miserable extremities; the inhabitants plundered to supply the soldiery; the soldiery impatient of their distresses: the officers repeatedly threatening to recur to the first principle of nature, that of self-preservation. The province of Connaught was reduced to almost total desperation. The integrity and activity of the earl of Clanricarde had the virulence of the Roman clergy to encounter, (who denounced all their

terrors against those who should refuse the oath of association) as well as the practices of those English officers, who were devoted to the parliament. The rebels every day encreased in strength ; they became masters of the important fort of Galway, and prepared to reduce those castles of the county of Roscommon, which (with Clancricarde's towns of Loughrea and Portumna) were all that held out in the western province. In Munster, lord Inchiquin, unassisted by the state, and abandoned by the English parliament, tried every miserable expedient for the relief of his soldiers, and was still on the point of total ruin. To preserve his forces from famishing, he was obliged to draw them from their garrisons, and to divide them into parties, to range over the country for subsistence. To encrease his calamity and consternation, one of those parties commanded by Sir Charler Vavasor, an English officer, was attacked and defeated by the rebels, under the conduct of Castlehaven and Muskerry ; his cannon, baggage, and seven hundred arms, taken, and six hundred of his men slain on the field of battle. In Ulster, the British power seemed most predominant. Yet, Monroe, for a while supplied from Scotland and England, at length found himself deserted by both ; and, to support his troops, was obliged to rouse them from their inactivity. He attempted to surprise Owen O'Nial in his quarters, but was foiled, and forced to retire with some loss : and though this rebel-general was defeated by Sir Robert Stuart, yet he soon recruited his forces, received

a supply of arms and ammunition from the supreme council, and extended his excursions, unmolested by an enemy weakened and dispirited by their distresses.

“ The new lords justices and council had a deep sense of this misery to which the several provinces were reduced. They applied by letters, they dispatched their agents, to the English parliament for relief; yet without any considerable effect. As the last effort to keep the army from disbanding or perishing, they recurred to an expedient, of which the commons of England had already set the example; and, without consulting, or receiving any warrant from the king, established an excise. But, although this obnoxious tax amounted to half the value of the commodity, yet, such was the poverty of the kingdom, that the money thus raised, proved utterly inadequate to the necessity of the state.”*

Distress of the provinces, i. e. distress of the enemies to the catholic confederacy. “ Ormond supposed that their present confidence arose from the prosperous situation of their armies, and particularly from the successful progress of Preston, who had re-assembled his troops, taken several places, and over-run the province of Leinster. Any advantage gained by the king's forces must abate their pride: he, therefore, determined to suspend his negotiations; and, if possible, to force Preston to an engagement. This general cautiously retired before him:

* Leland, Vol. III. B. V. c. v. p. 202. 203. 204.

Ormond was not sufficiently provided to pursue him: the dread of famine soon forced him to lead his army back to Dublin; abundantly convinced by this experiment, that the army and the protestant subjects of Ireland were to be rescued from destruction only by a cessation of hostilities.

“ Ormond was now to renew his treaty, with men naturally proud, transported by good fortune, and in the full career of success. Lord Castlehaven had taken several forts in the queen’s county, and that of Carlow. Owen O’Nial had advanced to West-Meath; Preston extended his irruptions almost to the capital; and both were busily employed in securing the harvest, and filling their magazines. The king’s forces grew so mutinous and disorderly from their distresses, that the country people, who used to live under their protection, now fled from their outrages. Drogheda, Dundalk, and other neighbouring garrisons, were ready to be abandoned through want, Monroe refused to act against O’Nial: Monck and lord Moore were sent to oppose him. Moore was killed in a fruitless attack; Monck was forced to return to Dublin, for want of bread; and Castlehaven took all the places he had abandoned. In the remoter provinces the Irish enjoyed the same superiority; and, in Munster particularly, the distresses of lord Inchiquin were extreme.”*

The English power in Ireland was then on

* Ireland, Vol. III. B. V. c. v. p. 206. 207. 208.

the brink of ruin, without any prospect of relief from the king or his enemies, when the improvident confidence of the Irish, the attachment of a powerful party to English connexion, yielded to the temporizing policy of their adversaries, and relieved it from destruction, to pour vengeance on them and their posterity. The treaty being concluded, supplies were sent to the king; some of his own army, protestants, sent by the marquis of Ormond, now lord lieutenant; some by the marquis of Antrim, a catholic nobleman, raised, armed and maintained at his own expence, under the command of the celebrated Colkittach Macdonald. The former, disaffected, marched with reluctance to his majesty's service, deserted in numbers, and joined his enemies. The latter, good men, well officered, zealous for his majesty's service, performed prodigies of valour in Scotland, under the marquis of Montrose.

“ How muchsoever the king has been censured, for employing his Irish catholic subjects against his English and Scottish rebels (even by those who had actually reduced him to that necessity), his majesty's good opinion of their courage and fidelity, was certainly well grounded. Lord Byron, in a letter from Chester to the marquis of Ormond, January 30th, 1643, requiring supplies from Ireland, “ wished they were rather Irish than English; for that the English he had already were very mutinous; and being,” says he, “ for the most part this countrymen, are so poisoned by the ill-affected people here, that

they grow very cold in this service.” And indeed that this preference in favour of the Irish, was just and reasonable, appears from hence, that such of the English protestant forces as were commanded over on that duty, “went with such reluctance,” says Borlace, “as the sharpest proclamations, of which there were several, hardly restrained them from flying their colours; both before and after their arrival in England.” But with how much spirit and alacrity the Irish crowded into that service, and what wonders they performed in it, shall be presently related from unquestionable authority.

“But there now arose a new and more substantial impediment to the transmission of these supplies by the confederates, “from the Irish coasts being infested by swarms of rebel ships,” whose commanders shewed no mercy to such of the royal party as had the misfortune to fall into their hands. For “of one hundred and fifty men, whom the marquis of Ormond had about this time sent to Bristol, and who happened to be taken by captain Swanley, commander of a parliament ship, seventy, besides two women, were inhumanly thrown overboard on pretence that they were Irish.”* This struck a just terror into all the neighboring ports, and scarce a ship durst stir out of the harbour. Shortly after, however, several hundred Irish ventured off to his majesty’s assistance; “and on the third day of their sailing, having taken a Scotch vessel

* Ormond’s Let. Cart. Collect. of Papers, v. i. 48.

with about fifty kirk-ministers deputed to preach up and administer the covenant in Ulster, instead of retaliating captain Swanley's late inhumanity, they contented themselves with only making them prisoners."*

"On the sixteenth of May, 1644, the earl of Antrim acquainted the marquis of Ormond, "he had then, for three months past maintained by his own credit, and that of his friends, at least two thousand men, ready to be shipped off, waiting for their arms and provisions; which he feared would not come so soon as expected, while the parliament ships were so thick on that coast.

"Yet so great was that lord's zeal for his majesty's service, and so little did the Irish fear the danger then attending it, that on the twenty-seventh of the following month, he wrote again to the marquis, "that he had sent off about sixteen hundred men, being as many as the ships could conveniently hold, completely armed by his own shifts, besides fifteen hundred pikes; and that he had discharged seven or eight hundred men for want of shipping." But his lordship seems to have shifted so well afterwards that we find, by a letter of the marquis of Ormond, July 17th following, "that the number of men then embarked by him (Antrim) from Waterford and other places, amounted to two thousand five hundred, well armed and victualled for two months." For which good service, "in the year

* Carte's Ormond.

1644, the earl of Antrim had the dignity of marquis conferred upon him."

Lord Clarendon's high encomiums on this nobleman's zeal and activity in the king's service; and on the valour, fidelity, and wonderful success of these Irish in promoting it, is the more remarkable, as it is well known that his lordship was not at all biassed by any partial affection to either of them. "It cannot be denied," says he, "that the levies the marquis of Antrim made, and sent over to Scotland under the command of Colkitto, were the foundation of all those wonderful acts, which were performed afterwards by the marquis of Montross. They were fifteen hundred men, very good, and with very good officers; all so hardy, that neither the ill fare, nor the ill lodging, in the Highlands, gave them any discouragement. They gave the first opportunity to the marquis of Montross of being at the head of an army that defeated the enemy as often as they encountered them. After each victory, the Highlanders went always home with their booty; and the Irish only staid together with their general. And from this beginning, the marquis of Montross grew to that power, that after many battles won by him, with much slaughter of the enemy, he marched victoriously with his army till he made himself master of Edinburgh, and redeemed out of the prison there, the earl of Crawford, lord Ogilvy and many other noble persons, who had been taken and sent thither with a resolution that they should all lose their heads; and the marquis

of Montross did always acknowledge, that the rise and beginning of his good success was due and to be imputed to that body of the Irish which had in the beginning been sent him by the marquis of Antrim; to whom the king had acknowledged the service in several letters of his own hand-writing.

It is therefore no wonder that we find lord Digby so frequently importuning the marquis of Ormond, "to use all possible means to assist and encourage the earl of Antrim and his forces in the service of Scotland; whereof the king's party," says he, "find such admirable effects in England." Nor on the other hand, is it at all strange, that in order to prevent their coming into England, the parliament of that kingdom passed that cruel ordinance of the twenty-fourth of October, 1644, "that no quarter should be given to any Irishman or papist born in Ireland, that should be taken in hostility against the parliament, either upon the sea, or in England or Wales."

They proved, that the king was not mistaken, in entertaining hopes of effectual aid from the catholic confederates, had they not been thwarted by the perfidy of the Irish governors, ruling in his name, under the influence of his enemies. Whatever demerits were imputed to the cessation, as it regarded the interests of Ireland, it was a measure of the first importance for the king's service. The king knew it to be such.

The Irish confederates knew it. The king's enemies, both English and Irish, were perfectly sensible thereof; and exerted the same zeal in opposing it, in the first instance, and defeating its purposes afterwards, as they did in kindling civil war here, so advantageous to the king's enemies in England. Therefore, the justices opposed it. Therefore, Ormond opposed delays to it; and promised for a sum of money to break it, and carry on the war. "Ormond was sensible how odious this treaty must prove to the parliament of England . . . how necessary it was for him to guard his reputation from the reproach of enemies who held their secret correspondence with the neighbouring kingdom. . . . When no other way could be proposed, he then moved, that if ten thousand pounds might be raised, half in victuals, the other half in money, he would continue the war, and endeavour to reduce Wexford."* Oh the loyal servant to his king! He knew the cessation would be odious to the English parliament. He must guard his reputation! From what? From an imputation of favouring the cessation! He took especial care to save his reputation with the English rebels, in that particular, as we have hitherto seen; and continued the same obsequious instrument of their wishes, to the ruin of king and country, as the sequel will shew. Why did he then venture to become any way instrumental in concluding a treaty, so odious to his patrons in England, so contrary to

* Leland.

the whole tenor of his public conduct? It was necessary to wear a mask, in order to render effectual service to the rebel parliament. The justices had been displaced for their stubborn opposition to the cessation; and if he persevered in a similar course, and that the king declared against him, though he might keep his place, in defiance of the king, by the authority and support of parliament, for any thing the king could do to supersede him, yet the mask once off, his influence in Ireland sunk, he would be classed with Monroe, and other avowed rebels; he could no longer dupe the king and the Irish confederates; and he knew, that the most effectual way of ruining them was, to betray them under the mask of honour and loyalty. His professions were for the king, but his acts for the service of his enemies. If he had no secret instructions to temporize with the king and the confederates, his subsequent conduct clears his reputation from any suspicion of cordially promoting the king's service, and was well suited to restore him to favour with the English commons.

When we consider the canting hypocrisy then prevalent, we may well suppose, that the same leaders, who permitted him to act the double part, affected surprise and horror at the odious measure, of whose progress they were well apprised; because surprise, alarm, terror, were their levers to move the multitude. In the same delusive language, they affected to impute the troubles of Ireland, of which they and their creatures were the principal authors, to jesuitical

practices, and a desire of exterminating the protestant religion in Ireland. “ But the English parliament, above all others, were provoked at an event, which deprived them of a popular pretence for raising money to support their own contest, and was purposely contrived to give assistance to their adversary. From the very moment that they first received an intimation of the intended treaty, the marquis of Ormond became the object of their resentment. They, who had declared to the Irish agents sent to solicit relief, that if five hundred pounds might save their kingdom, it could not be spared, now affected the utmost commisseration for their protestant brethren of Ireland. New schemes of raising money for the Irish service were devised; and the utmost indignation expressed by parliament, that the distresses of this kingdom should be imputed to their neglect. Before they had been certainly informed of the conclusion of a treaty, they issued a solemn declaration against a design so impious. In this, they ascribe the disorders of both kingdoms to one cause, the influence of jesuitical practices, and a horrid scheme of destroying the protestant religion. They magnify their zeal for the service of Ireland, and assume the merit of every advantage gained against the rebels. “ God hath been pleased,” say they, “ to bless our endeavours with such success, as that those furious blood-thirsty papists have been stopped in the career of their cruelty; some part of the protestant blood, which, at first, was spilt like water on the

ground, hath been revenged; their massacres, burnings, and famishings, have, by a divine retaliation, been repaid into their bosom." They impute the design of a cessation to the artifice of the rebels, who were in a far worse condition than the protestants, reduced by "the remarkable judgment of God, even to feed one upon another; and who laboured a treaty of cessation, in order to gain some respite for reaping the harvest, and receiving their expected supplies without molestation. They acknowledge their apprehensions of the king's deriving some assistance from such a treaty, or, to use their own language, of the Irish forces uniting with the popish party of England. They complain that the lords and commons, to whom the care of Ireland had been committed, had not been consulted on this intended treaty. To the rumours of such a treaty they boldly impute those distresses of the protestant army, pleaded as a pretext for the cessation; rumours, which had discouraged adventurers, and stopped contributions: they, therefore, pathetically call on all those who are well affected to the protestant religion, those who, by their adventures, have embarked their particular interests in the public service of Ireland, to obviate this plea of necessity, by their liberal contributions, as "the cry of much protestant blood, the great indigence of many ruined families, and the danger of their religion, almost exiled out of Ireland, call for this last act of piety, charity, justice, and policy."*

* Leland, Vol. III. B. V. c. v. p. 210. 211. 213.

Every one must agree with Leland, in his remark on this declaration, “The falsehoods by which this declaration is disgraced, are indeed flagrant!” Yet one cannot so readily subscribe to the palliative, but, possibly not altogether intentional. The promoters of Irish insurrection could not possibly be ignorant of the means employed by them and their creatures to excite and extend it. Those, who were indignant at the cessation, and abhorred the idea of a peace in Ireland, as furnishing the king with resources, and depriving them, his enemies, of powerful means against him, displayed the same active industry for breaking the cessation, and continuing the civil war, as they had exerted in kindling it.

Now the English commons adopted prompt and vigorous measures for breaking the cessation, and rekindling the flames of war. Orders were sent to Monroe to continue the hostilities. “In the northern province the Scottish general, Monroe, disclaimed the cessation. And though, when he had first slaughtered some unoffending Irish peasants, he consented to wait the orders of the state of Scotland, or parliament of England, before he should proceed to further acts of hostility, yet he soon received instructions to carry on the war, without regard to the king’s chief governour.... Owen O’Connolly, (the informer) now the creature of the English parliament, had been made bearer of their letters to the British colonels in this province, recommending to them to disclaim the cessation, and to take the covenant. On these conditions, they were assured of

their arrears, and full provisions for their future maintenance. Monroe's officers, and those of the old Scottish regiments, were all eager for the covenant, and had already sent to Scotland for a copy of that famous engagement."*

Soon after they made good their promise of supplies to the covenanting army of Monroe, and such other troops as would take the covenant. "Ten thousand pounds, some cloathing, and provisions, were remitted to Monroe from Scotland, together with four ministers of the kirk to enforce and tender the covenant. These missionaries travelled with indefatigable zeal, through every parish of the counties of Downe and Antrim, and their doctrines were every where received with enthusiastic ardour. Soldiers, officers, gentry, peasants, all flocked round them, all contending for the glory of running foremost in the godly cause, and first accepting an engagement so precious, and so essential to the welfare of their souls. The prohibitions and menaces of government, the proclamation against the covenant, which some English colonels, at length, ventured to publish to their regiments, only served to enflame the general fervour. Private men and subalterns, who had secretly taken the covenant, now boldly avowed it, and had defiance to their commanders. They, who refused to be united with the godly by this holy vow, were regarded as impious wretches, unworthy of the rights of humanity: nor would the

* Leland, Vol. III, B. V. c. vi. p. 216. 221.

inhabitants supply them with the necessaries of life. They, who had ever appeared most attached to the royal cause, now caught the popular contagion. Audley Mervin, so noted for his nauseous harangues, inveighed with such vehemence against the covenant in the parliament of Dublin, expressed such loyalty to the king, and declaimed so copiously against the English commons, and their neglect of Ireland, that the marquis of Ormond deemed him a proper person to be entrusted with the government of Derry. Scarcely had he entered on his new office, when he was prevailed on to take that engagement which had been the object of his severest censure.”*

Audley Mervin and Ormond understood each other, being both arrant hypocrites. What would be the first duty of a viceroy? To keep the peace of the country. To cement union among the king's friends, and disunite his enemies. The very contrary to this was Ormond's chief employment. In soliciting supplies from the confederates, “in vain did the marquis represent the danger of delay; the duty and policy of sending effectual assistance to the king, before their common enemy should prevail.”* In acknowledging the English rebels, the common enemy of the king and Irish confederates, the latter are declared either his majesty's allies, or his loyal subjects, there is no other alternative. The former title could only belong to an

* Leland.

independent power; the latter was justly claimed by the confederates, as both their own conduct, and that of the king's enemies, sufficiently evinced. If they were backward in handing over supplies to Ormond, their diffidence of their application was justified by experience; and if they refused the sale of arms in their quarters, i.e. the disarming of their troops, having had abundant trial of the perfidies practized on them by almost all officers acting in the king's name, it only proved them not quite ideots. Well, how did this paragon of loyalty, the hero of Carte's romance, manage these acknowledged loyal confederates? To the satisfaction of the English commons, and the injury of the king. "The marquis of Ormond experienced various difficulties in supporting and regulating his army, preserving the public peace, and managing the proud and intractable spirits of the Irish confederates. His favourite object was, to break their union; and, for this purpose, he desired a power of granting pardons to such particulars as should return to his majesty's obedience. The demand was discovered to the confederates; nor were they insensible of its dangerous tendency: yet Ormond was not discouraged. He held his correspondence with some of their principal leaders; he flattered their ambition; he hinted, that by zealously exerting themselves in the king's service, they might hereafter be preferred to such places of trust and honour as suited their birth and quality, and enjoy that consequence in Ireland which their inferiours of English birth had hi-

therto obtained. Many considerable places were now vacant, which were eagerly solicited by various competitors about the court of England. These he recommended to be still kept unfilled; at least, that they should be conferred on moderate Irish protestants, as the method to which neither party could justly except, and the safest to be pursued for allaying national discontents.*

How did the loyal viceroy deal with the king's enemies? Just as a hearty rebel would do. He laboured to unite the king's troops with the Scotch rebels under Monroe; and after saying and publishing some things against the covenant, like his friend Audley Mervin, he loyally advised his majesty's troops, not to take that oath of treason against the king, and persecution against his subjects, until they consulted. Whom? The king's enemies! "But the English officers of the royal party were not deceived by this apparent lenity. They every moment expected an order from the English parliament for imposing the covenant by force; and their apprehensions were confirmed, when a commission from the English houses, under their broad seal, was received by Monroe, empowering him to command all the forces of Ulster, Scottish and English, in their name, and under their authority, and to carry on the war against all the enemies of the covenanted party. The royalists assembled at Belfast to resolve on an answer to be returned the Scottish general, when he should require

* Leland, Vol. III. B. V. c. vi. p. 220. 221.

them to submit to his command. In the midst of their consultation, Monroe contrived to surprise the town. Hence he marched to take possession of Lisburne, but was foiled in his attempt by the spirit and vigilance of the English officers. The Ulster forces were thus on the point of declaring war against each other. The superiour numbers of the Scots were formidable to the English; the resolute spirit of the English was alarming to the Scots; an amicable agreement was the interest of both; and a stipulation was soon framed and subscribed. It was agreed, that the English should not be forced to take any oath contrary to their consciences and the fundamental laws of Ireland, until they should first address themselves to the English parliament, and represent their reasons and scruples to the contrary; that their regiments should be furnished with the same provisions, and have the same privileges and appointments with the Scots. On these conditions, they engaged to join with Monroe in a vigorous prosecution of the Irish rebels, unless his majesty's command should hereafter contradict their further proceeding."*

This speedy junction of his majesty's troops in Ulster with the Scotch rebels there; their acceptance of part of the supply sent from the rebel parliament; their acceptance of the covenant; what else can be understood from the travestied language of Carte, or his copiest Leland? That they would not take it without consulting the

* Leland, Vol. III. B. V. c. vi. p. 224. 225.

king's enemies; and proposing their scruples to those very men, who sent over positive orders to impose it. Conscientious men! Their scruples were soon removed when they entered into an alliance with the king's sworn enemies, and promised to carry on war in conjunction against the most loyal of his subjects. Such was the care pretended by Carte and Leland to have been taken of the loyalty of his majesty's troops, by his loyal viceroy, Ormond. I can see nothing in the conduct of that man at all compatible with the double part assigned him, that was not detrimental to his king and country, serviceable to their enemies.

The event, however, completely vindicates the hesitation and parsimony of the confederates, in the grant of supplies, and the necessary precaution of not suffering their troops to be disarmed in their quarters, on pretence of employing them for the king's service, while arms and stores lay in the king's magazine at the castle unemployed. No wonder the confederates were enraged and alarmed at this unprovoked breach of the cessation. "The seizure of Belfast, and the union of the Ulster forces, were incidents both alarming and provoking to the confederate Irish at Kilkenny. Their forces were scattered, their generals divided by frivolous competitions. Their pride was inflamed by that consequence which they had gradually acquired. While they detached Castlehaven to the assistance of Owen O'Nial, they made private overtures to the marquis of Ormond, that he should accept the supreme command of all their forces, and march against

the stubborn Northerners with the whole united power of the royalists: for in this party the Irish affected to be ranked. At the same time, they required that he should proclaim the Scots rebels, in consequence of their outrageous infringement of the cessation.

“ It was obvious for Ormond to reflect, that by accepting the command of the Irish, he must blend the rightful power of the king with the usurped authority of the rebels, in a manner odious to every protestant subject, disgraceful to his royal master, and really dangerous to himself, however the bold measure might be recommended by some present advantages. To issue a proclamation against the Scots, and to brand their adherence to the parliament with the name of rebellion, appeared equally dangerous and obnoxious. It must afford them a fair pretence for their opposition to the king, furnish them with plausible arguments for seducing others, and provoke numbers of protestants, puritans at least, if not secretly favourers of the covenant. The marquis therefore, could not, consistently with the plainest rules of prudence, irritate the English parliament, already his enemies, and hazard the revolt of almost all his forces. On the other hand, it was dangerous to disoblige the Irish. They might find pretences for with-holding that part of their subsidy which remained unpaid. They had promised to supply him with corn and cattle: they might retract this promise: they might cut off all commerce and freedom of markets. The scanty and precarious remittances from England,

if not intercepted by the ships of parliament, yet were utterly inadequate to the necessities of government. So that his hopes of subsistence depended on the Irish, who, if provoked, might reduce him to sudden famine.

“ In this situation, Ormond resolved, instead of returning a peremptory denial, to amuse them with a treaty tending to their own purpose, but in a different manner. He pleaded the want of direction from the king, and the impropriety of declaring against the Scots, before he had received explicit orders. In the mean time, he proposed that the Irish should make provision for the payment and maintenance of six thousand foot, and six hundred horse of his majesty's forces. With this body, thus effectually supplied, he engaged to restrain the Scots from violating the cessation, or annoying the provinces. The Irish were sensible, that by proclaiming the Scots rebels, the king must in effect avow, that he depended entirely on their confederacy for the subsistence of his power and government in Ireland; and in the fulness of their pride insisted on this measure. For the same reason, Ormond, strenuously, yet artfully, opposed their desires. Some time was necessarily spent in propositions, answers, and replies: and, in this interval it appeared, that the Scottish general, notwithstanding the violence of his declarations, and some attempts to re-commence hostilities, was really not inclined, or not enabled to prosecute the war with vigour.”*

* Ireland, Vol. III. B. V. c. vi. p. 225. 226. 227.

So then the catholics only affected to be ranked among the royalists! The king, and his enemies likewise, did rank them among the most zealous of royalists. This was the king's reason for urging a cessation and peace, and claiming succour from Ireland. It was the motive of the parliament, for fomenting the Irish troubles first, and opposing the cessation of hostilities afterwards; least, as they published, the popish party in Ireland would come to the king's assistance; or, in their words, come to aid the popish party in England. It was their motive for subsidizing Monroe, and his barbarous, plundering, covenanting crew, to divert the Irish from their distressed monarch. It was their motive for that bloody edict, ordering no quarter to be given to any Irish papist, in England or Wales. If their professions of loyalty, like that of most protestants then in Ireland, were affectation, what party did they espouse? Not that of their mortal enemies, the rebel, covenanting parliament. What then were they in arms for? A separation from England, and the erection of Ireland into a free state. No. The majority of the assembly was against that, for reasons noticed before. They were, in fact, utterly divided in object and principle. A considerable party rose to recover their estates and goods unjustly wrested from them. The greater number were forced to take the field, by the cruelties and perfidies of the parliamentary faction, then governing Ireland as the king's representatives. They remained under arms, in defence of liberty of conscience, of their

civil rights and privileges, and in defence of the king. Could they be considered loyal subjects, if, laying down their arms, they reposed in a deceitful neutrality, while England and Scotland were in open rebellion?

The effrontery of Carte and Leland, in attempting to impose on the sense of mankind, falsifying facts, misconstruing intentions, and constantly drawing false conclusions, is contemptible sophistry. So, "to publish a proclamation against the Scots, and brand their adherence to parliament as rebellion, appeared to Ormond obnoxious and dangerous!" The king's lieutenant in Ireland thought it obnoxious and dangerous to declare by the authority vested in him, what the Scots in Ulster, and their abettors, the English commons, really were, rebels, two years in open rebellion against the king. To a viceroy, so careful to guard his reputation with the king's English and Scotch enemies, so scrupulous to avoid every appearance of dealing honestly with the king's zealous friends, the confederates, it must have appeared highly obnoxious to declare them rebels. But of this reproachful epithet he was lavish to the royalist confederates of Kilkenny. Yes, that was grateful to his patrons and masters, the rebels of Westminster.

Scarce a syllable that is not falsehood, pervasification, misrepresentation. The authority of the Irish assembly was not usurped; they were freely chosen, by a people driven to that extremity by a law paramount to all law, self-preservation; the necessity of defending their lives and

fortunes against a combination of sanguinary and perfidious foes. One party, as the justices and Ormond, proceeding against them, with fraud and cruelty, in the king's name, with the aid of resources drawn from their selves. Another party, in open rebellion against their lawful sovereign, sworn enemies to him and to his catholic subjects; especially the Irish, having vowed by their covenant to exterminate their religion with fire and sword; a thing to be no otherwise atchieved but by the destruction of their persons. The motives that drew them together, are the fundamental principles on which human society is founded, the protection of person and property, and liberty of conscience from violence or oppression.

“To blend the kings authority with the usurped authority of rebels.” Rebels they were not, as Ormond confessed, when he declared their cause and the king's to be but one common cause against a common enemy; unless Charles himself was a rebel. That the authority of the convention was not usurped, is just now demonstrated. If the viceroy was faithful to his trust, he would gladly embrace the voluntary offer of a powerful body of his majesty's subjects, to put all their resources under his command, in order to punish the violators of the cessation, prevent the renewal of hostilities, and hasten a peace, which would enable them to gratify their ardent wishes of sending effectual succour to the distressed monarch. This was the object of the cessation; the fervent wish of Charles and the confederates.

“Accepting the service of Irish catholics, would be odious to all protestant subjects.” Odious to the rebels of Westminster? Yes; and to their covenanted coadjutors in rebellion. What pretences or means of seduction it would afford the English commons, was a matter of little consequence, compared with the pacification of Ireland. “And provoke numbers of protestants, puritans at least, if not secretly favorers of the covenant? The marquis, therefore, could not, consistently with the rules of prudence, irritate already his enemies, and hazard the revolt of all his forces!” That is to say, he could not do the king’s business, nor accept the service of loyal subjects; for fear of provoking the king’s enemies, especially his sworn enemies, the puritans! What a true and loyal viceroy? What if the troops he had revolted, and joined the Scotch rebels? So much the better. Such rebels, as they proved afterwards, and are here admitted to be, deserved not to be maintained at the expence of the public. If they joined Monroe, their defeat would rid the king and country of a miscreant crew. The honest, either-side viceroy would neither provoke his friends, the rebels; nor yet disoblige the Irish, as he could not subsist his troops without their assistance. But while he seriously promoted the views of the king’s enemies, by conniving, and of consequence contributing to the breach of treaty, which he was in duty to his sovereign, and to his own engagements, bound to maintain inviolate, he amused the confederates with negociations, propositions,

replies, demand of subsidies for the support of six thousand foot and six hundred horse, which common prudence would not entrust to so perfidious a minister. But he pleaded his want of an explicit order, before he could proceed against the Scotch rebels! As if any further order were required, than the violation of a treaty, signed by his majesty for the benefit of the service, at the instigation, and by express command, of his rebellious English subjects; sending for that purpose, arms, provisions and money. Such are the paltry artifices, with which the prostitute pen of Carte, and the prejudiced of his follower, Leland, endeavour to gloss over the masquerade policy, and palliate the manifold treasons of Ormond against his king and country. No degree of ability will cover falsehood, hypocrisy and treason in public characters, from detection; and it is the duty of history, to tear away the flimsy veil, drawn over them by purchased or partial writers. “While the marquis of Ormond thus contended with the wants and distresses of the state, the arrogance of the popish confederates, and the virulence of the northern covenanters!” What a pretty verbiage of falsification! Did he love truth, he would, consistently with his facts, have stated; while Ormond bore the distresses and wants of the state, rather than have them relieved, by accepting the zealous co-operation of the confederates, for his majesty’s service, because that would disgust and irritate the rebels of Westminster, their fellow-covenanters, who were his enemies already, says Leland. If so,

his policy was like that of the Stuarts, who, courting their enemies, and forsaking their friends, deserved to be paid in the same coin by such faithless ministers.

While he served the king's enemies, by tolerating, perhaps secretly encouraging, the outrages of the northern covenanters; for he that would betray his master to his enemies in one instance, would in another; Oxford was an important scene of Irish negociation. The commissioners of the confederates, for treating with the king and his ministers, then at Oxford, for the purpose of settling the constitution and government of the kingdom on a firm foundation, reciprocally advantageous to his majesty's subjects, and to both islands, arrived at Oxford, on the twenty-third day of March, 1644; and the propositions they offered to consideration, must appear reasonable and moderate to an impartial reader; especially if he compares them with the arrogant pretensions of English and Scotch protestant rebels, amounting to nothing short of the overthrow of the monarchy. "The most important were, the freedom of their religion, by a repeal of all penal statutes; a free parliament, with a suspension of Poyning's law, during its session; the annulling all acts and ordinances of the Irish parliament since the seventh day of August 1641, the date of that fatal prorogation, to which they imputed all subsequent disorders; the vacating all indictments, attainders, and outlawries in prejudice of Irish catholics, since that day; a release of debts, and general act of obli-

vion; the vacating all offices found for the king's title to lands since the year 1634, and an act of limitation for the security of estates; the establishment of an inn of court, and seminaries of education in Ireland, for the benefit of catholic subjects; a free and indifferent appointment of all Irish natives without exception, to places of trust and honour; that no persons, not estated and resident in Ireland, should sit and vote in the parliament of this realm; that an act should pass, formally declaring the independency of their parliament on that of England; that the jurisdiction of the Irish privy-council should be limited to matters of state; that no chief governor should be continued above three years, and that during his government, he should be disqualified to purchase any lands in the kingdom, except from his majesty. To these, and other articles of less consequence, they added, with an affected indignation at the charge of cruelty urged against their party, that a parliamentary enquiry should be made into all notorious murders, breaches of quarter, and inhuman barbarities committed on either side, and that the offenders should be excluded from the act of oblivion, and brought to condign punishment. On the grant of these propositions, they declared their readiness to devote their lives and fortunes to the king's service; and, particularly, to contribute ten thousand men towards suppressing the unnatural rebellion of England."*

* Ieland, Vol. III. B. V. c. vi. p. 228. 229.

But the king, always too prone to hearken to ill advisers, summoned his own enemies, devoted to the parliament, and fanatically furious against popery, to assist at the conferences for signing the treaty. “ He had directed that some experienced men should be sent from the privy council of Ireland to assist in this treaty. They nominated archbishop Usher, and eight others, of whom the king summoned four to his assistance. But a number of zealous protestants, not acquainted with this transaction, or not entirely confiding in the nomination of the council, assembled at the house of the earl of Kildare, and chose four persons, by whom they desired, and were permitted, to present their petitions to the king. To this number, Sir Charles Coote, and an officer of the name of Parsons, were afterwards added; by what authority seems not very material to enquire, as they were received as agents from the protestants of Ireland by the king. The whole party was of the puritannic cast; possessed with a violent aversion to popery, enflamed against the professors of this religion, by a painful recollection of the late disorders in Ireland, suspicious of the king, and Coote and Parsons, at least, who took the lead in their transactions, devoted entirely to the interest of the English parliament. In the alacrity of their zeal, they had contrived to present themselves at Oxford, before the agents nominated by the Irish council, and summoned by the king, had yet arrived.

“ They were received with sufficient grace,

and immediately presented the petition of that body of protestants from whom they derived their authority. The king expressed a tender sense of their distresses; and acknowledged, that they had truly stated the iniquity of the first popish insurgents; intimating, however, that some distinction should be made between these and the gentry of the Pale, who, he seemed willing to believe, had been forced into rebellion by the Irish chief governours. Provoked at any tenderness expressed towards the popish party, and much more at the attention and respect with which their agents were received at a court, where the influence of the queen was too predominant, these men grew importunate and bold. They demanded permission to enter into a particular confutation of the Irish remonstrance framed at Trim: they required a copy of the propositions lately presented by the Irish agents: they were reprov'd, yet not dismayed; they exhibited a copious answer to this remonstrance, together with a collection of propositions from the Irish protestants, dictated by the spirit of triumphant pride, as if they had already vanquished and subdued the whole popish party.

“ They required the most rigorous execution of the statutes against recusancy, and the immediate banishment of the Romish clergy, with a full restitution of churches and their revenues to the protestants; that the present parliament should be continued, and the usurped power of the confederates immediately dissolved; that their whole party should be disarmed, compelled to

repair all damages sustained by protestants, and brought to condign punishment for their offences, without any act of oblivion, release, or discharge: that the oath of supremacy should be strictly and universally imposed on all magistrates, and that they who refused it should be incapable of sitting in parliament, in which nothing should be attempted derogatory to the law of Poynings, the great bulwark of the royal power, and protection of the protestant subjects of Ireland; that the king should take all forfeited estates in his own hands, and after satisfaction made to such as claimed by former acts of parliament, dispose of the residue entirely to the British planters.”*

Hitherto, in spite of all the art and industry, employed by the falsifiers of history to whitewash Ormond, and blacken the confederates, he has been convicted of detestable double-dealing and treachery to his king and country; the confederates have been truly exhibited, as actuated more by chivalrous principles of loyalty, than prudence and sound policy. Now some flagrant act of treason must be approaching; as Ormond's advocates have recourse to all the low tricks and paltry quirks of special pleading. They put a speech in Charles's mouth, to the agents of the confederates, considering his circumstances, fit only for a fool to utter. He could not now grant their demands, for fear of giving a handle to his enemies, and disgusting his own party! They

* Leland, Vol. III. B. V. c. vi. p. 229. 230. 231.

must take his royal word for it, that, if they assisted him to suppress the rebellion in England and Scotland, he would satisfy all their just expectations. If no concessions were to be made, wherefore the treaty? wherefore solicit supplies and forces? But why should the confederates, so long and often deceived and plundered by him and his father, trust his royal word, while the majority of his protestant subjects, in England and Scotland, would not take his royal oath in trust. He had more substantial boons to give, as pledges for the performance of the rest; the dissolution of a packed illegal body, miscalling itself the Irish parliament; and, by easy consequence, the repeal of the penal laws against Irish catholics. This, indeed, he promised: but, to his own great misfortune, he was too slow in the performance. Then again, after inviting commissioners from Ireland, to treat for the settlement of the kingdom, he becomes delicate on the point; he hesitates, dreads to give a handle to his enemies, and lose his partizans. Why not have considered this before inviting the conference? All this presto work is to prepare and blindfold the reader, for excusing a flagrant breach of trust on the part of Ormond. The king was afraid to conclude the treaty. Had not his vicegerent, to whom its conclusion was delegated, his fears of that terrible vindictive parliament? Not a word, to be sure, about those magnificent promises, made good to him afterwards. Charles shrunk from the odium of making any concessions to Irish papists by the treaty. He feared to dis-

gust and lose his partizans by concluding it! Would he not incur that odium, and disgust his partizans equally, if it was concluded by his viceregent, in his name and by his orders? Surely, the apprehensions of this timorous king were very injudicious. If a treaty with the confederates would appear odious and disgusting to loyal English protestants, one should think, the presence of an Irish popish army would be still more intolerable. It is scarce possible such puerile slight-of-hand dealing should have passed between rational beings, as prejudiced or venal writers have related of the negotiation of Charles and his Irish catholic subjects. Charles did not shrink from the odium of the treaty; but he might not wish to be responsible for the articles in detail. He wished it to be carried on at a distance from his English partizans; because he saw, that their prejudices, and the demands of the Irish confederates, were not easily to be reconciled; though they ought to see, that his distress coincided with justice to enforce concession. But above all, he was impatient for Irish supplies and Irish forces; consequently, eager for the conclusion of the treaty. This must have been his chief motive for transferring the negotiation to Ormond. At Oxford it must have been retarded, both by the distance and danger of travelling thence to Kilkenny and back. The commissioners of the confederates could not surrender an iota of the propositions sent over, without the consent of the assembly; hence nothing could be concluded, without dispatching

messengers, and waiting their return. Now, besides the distance, death awaited those messengers; for the Irish sea was infested with parliament ships, who had strict orders to put to death any Irishman, or papist born in Ireland, going to or coming from England and Wales. Their scouting parties by land had similar orders; so that the communication between Oxford and Kilkenny was uncertain; and this circumstance might retard the negotiation to a length unsuited to the views and interests of both parties. Besides, while Charles and his council spent this time in negotiation, his enemies would take advantage of such a diversion, and carry on the war with redoubled vigour. Clarendon puts words in Charles's mouth, in a conference with the Irish delegates, which, most probably, he never spoke, and apper to have been prophecy after the event, "that if they did not give timely and effectual assistance to suppress the rebels, the people, who would destroy him with difficulty, would, without opposition, root out their nation and religion." If he considered them such dispirited cowards, as to give no opposition to their sanguinary exterminators, why wish for their assistance, or confide in their valour? They were, indeed, overrun, and miserably cut down, without any adequate opposition; but this was the contrivance of treachery, which he probably did not foresee, else why employ the traitor, his viceroy?

Thus Charles's ill stars led him from one impolitic step to another. It was a fatal mistake, to surrender the management of the Irish war, to

the parliament. It was insanity to attempt enforcing his own liturgy on the Scots, embroiled as he was with the English parliament. Another capital error it was, to entrust the government of Ireland to the creatures of the English parliament, Parsons first, and Ormond next. One of the most capital faults was, to commit the conclusion of a treaty with the Irish confederates, to one of the most dangerous of his enemies; because insidiously playing to the hands of his enemies, under the mask of loyalty. If the marquis was loyal, as he professed, and his advocates plead, why give no proofs thereof, but many of the contrary disposition? Why not raise a body of men, at his own expence, for the king's service, like the marquis of Antrim? Was he inferior in property, credit or followers? Why were the troops under his command, notwithstanding his pretended care of their loyalty, more attached to the covenant than the king; as by fact it appeared, when the detachment sent to the king's forces in England marched reluctantly to join the royal banners, and either cowardly fled, or joined the ranks of the enemy? Why strictly pursue every measure that could serve the parliament, or disserve the king? His usual line of conduct he followed exactly, on receiving a commission to treat with the confederates. He would consent not to a single proposition, that afforded them any safety for the present, but in their arms; or any security for the future, on laying them down; while he was secretly in alliance with their sworn exterminators, open

rebels to their lawful sovereign, whose viceroy he basely assumed to act. "They," the Irish delegates, "offered the very same propositions which had been presented at Oxford, together with some others of less moment. Particularly they required what could not be granted in the present juncture, that the Scots and lord Inchiquin who concurred in opposing the cessation, should be declared traitors. For this, they claimed a promise from the king; and his minister, lord Digby, acknowledged that such a promise had been given, provided that a peace or cessation should be first concluded. Thus, did Ormond, possibly for the first time, discover a secret train of negociation between the king and the catholics of Ireland. But from his knowledge of the temper of the Irish protestants, he deemed it necessary to decline this measure; and for his own honour, as well as that of his royal master, returned the same answers to the Irish commissioners which their propositions had already received in England. To their demand of a repeal of all penal statutes enacted against the professors of their religion, he answered, by repeating the royal promise that these statutes should not be enforced: a new parliament he refused: a suspension of the laws of Poynings he opposed: nor could he consent to an act of oblivion so extensive as they required. He demanded, that the Irish should abolish their usurped government, restore all towns and castles to the king, the churches to the protestant clergy, and to the laity their estates and property. The propositions

made, and the answers returned, Ormond cautiously determined to lay before the king. The treaty was adjourned from October to the succeeding month of January: and as the agents employed to attend the king, had the misfortune to be taken prisoners by a vessel in the service of parliament, all further proceedings were suspended until the month of April 1645.*

What a marvel, that Charles, surrounded as he was by open and clandestine enemies, the most dangerous of whom were, those in his employment, should correspond with a loyal and powerful body of subjects, zealous for his service, and of approved integrity? A new parliament he refused. That is, he would not have a constitutional parliament, but a packed illegal junta, formed by the violence of the justices in violation of the constitution; the majority of which, as of the privy council, was devoted to the English parliament. He further insists on their disarming, while their sworn enemies continue in arms, disowning the cessation, and confident, as they well might be, of his friendship. The Scotch and lord Inchiquin could not be proclaimed traitors, because they were in alliance with the English rebels, against the king; the confederates were so called, because they earnestly desired to join their forces with his majesty's, but not before they had some reasonable assurance of safety, after detaching the flower of their defenders. Thus Ormond adjourned the treaty, from July

* Leland, Vol. III. B. V. c. vi. p. 238. 239.

1644 to April 1645. More than a twelvemonth now elapsed, and still no treaty. The king's affairs declining, the rebels gaining strength, and his principal reliance, the Irish reinforcements still fraudulently held back by his own representative, the storm of war increasing on him, he urged, commanded his deputy, to conclude a peace upon any terms. To obtain obedience to his commands, or rather compliance with his solicitations, he enlarged his powers. While Charles was thus eager to receive assistance from the Irish confederates, his deputy was secretly tampering with his enemies, the Scots in Ulster, in order to carry on the war. This appears evident from his secret correspondence with Galbraith, a major in the Ulster army.*

From their first being forced to take up arms in their own defence, the catholic confederates made warm professions of loyalty; nor could they be more insulted, than by the slightest imputation of a contrary disposition. From the first breaking out of the rebellion, in England and Scotland, they were most forward to unite with heart, hand and purse, in his cause. His majesty was convinced of this. His enemies were no less so, as already stated, proved by their unremitting endeavours to prevent a cessation of hostilities or peace. The insulating medium, that kept asunder their ardent wishes for conjunction, consisted in the depraved, distempered state of the public mind, in England and Scot-

* Carte's Ormond.

land, partially here; and in the treachery and duplicity of his ministers. By long continued calumnies, virulent invectives from the pulpit and the press, idolatry, impiety, simony, and other enormities, falsely imputed to popery; murderous and treacherous plots, fabricated by her enemies, as popish, and fathered upon, to make her an object of abhorrence and abomination. Political faction, availing itself of this popular engine, tried every art to inflame the animosity against popery, to a delirious phrenzy. Every pulpit brawler, however illiterate or immoral, was godly, in proportion to the vehemence of his railing against the church of Rome. Out start from the mystic page of the Apocalypse, Antichrist, the man of sin, no less a person than his holiness; and the scarlet whore, sitting on a beast, having seven heads and ten horns, and a mouth speaking terrible things. In the theatre, and in the senate, a lash at popery was always welcome. By these means, a maniac abhorrence, and dread of popery, like an epidemic pestilence, deluged these islands, and nearly extinguished every spark of religion, common sense, and candour; leaving nothing but demoniac enthusiasm, a furious cant of vicious spite, and outrageous malice and hatred against the catholic church. The demagogues of the puritan and levelling faction, cultivated this popular delirium to the utmost; and blended monarchy and prelacy with the execrated object of popular horror. The rage against popery in particular, was carried so high, that in England and Scotland he

would be considered an enemy to God and religion, who would shew it the least lenity or indulgence; but to tolerate it, was sacrilege, impiety, atheism. So far was Charles hemmed in by these prevailing prejudices, that he durst not own, even to the most loyal of his partizans, his intention of granting liberty of conscience to the papists. Hence, his disavowal of the private treaty, made in his name, by the earl of Glamorgan, which held forth liberty of conscience to the catholic confederates, after the parliament had obtained and published a copy of it. Hence, his unwillingness to conclude the treaty in person, at Oxford; and his wish to shift the responsibility of a measure, so odious to the majority of his English and Scotch subjects, loyal as well as rebel, upon other shoulders. Hence, his ruin, and the downfall of church and state, pro tempore. Were he not so fettered and immured by the weighty barrier of inveterate public bigotry, he needed not have entrusted this treaty, so essentially necessary, to the management of perfidy and hypocrisy.

Well, had not Ormond a right to dissemble, since his master did? There is a considerable disparity. Charles was, by birth and the constitution, bound to fill the throne, and discharge the duties of a monarch. The situation, held by the other, was optional. If the king was so restricted, by the maniac horrors of popery, prevalent among the loyalists almost as much as among the rebels, and could not grant the indulgences claimed by the confederates, nor even

publicly avow the intention of such concessions, without alienating numbers of his followers, and risking thereby a total discomfiture, to the overthrow of the constitution, and the ruin of millions involved in his fate; the odium and burden of tolerating popish idolatry, and granting concessions to Irish papists, falling on a subject, whose commission thereto could be afterwards, if necessary to his cause, disavowed by the king, would not be attended with the same ruinous consequences to the constitution, and the three kingdoms. Was Ormond, then, bound in honour and conscience, to become the scape-goat of tottering royalty; and the voluntary martyr of the constitution, and the public welfare; with the example of Strafford and the bishops before his eyes, whom the king was, by oath, bound to protect, and whom he afterwards surrendered to their enemies; an infidelity afterwards corroborated, in the imprisonment of the earl of Glamorgan by the king's order, and his public disavowal of the secret commission he gave him, to treat with the confederates? Was he to encounter the vengeance of a formidable implacable party, most like to triumph finally? No. If he did accept the employment, and hold it in trust for the king, and exercise it in his name, and by his authority; and not alone in trust for him, but for the public, for whose benefit kings reign, and that with a settled design of ruining both. Could a man of honour accept a situation of the highest trust, not only without an intention of fulfilling its duties, but with a design of con-

verting the trust to the destruction of his employer? Could a royal deputy act steadily for the king's enemies, and as constantly against the king and his loyal subjects, for prudential reasons of personal safety, apprehension of vengeance from the king's enemies, or the more flimsy plea, that obedience to his majesty's orders would disgust the protestants, and had not the approbation of the privy council? He had examples in his own country of men changing sides in civil commotions. Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, pro tempore deputy, during his father's absence in London, on a false rumour of his having been put to death, revolted against the king; but, in the chivalrous spirit of frankness and honour, he did not avail himself of the artificial powers of government, then in his hands, against his sovereign, but, resigning the castle and the sword of state, took the field on fair terms. Inchiquin, (O'Brien) O'Neil, the two first names of which Ireland boasts, revolted to the parliament; but they did so without disguise, publishing to the world their change. Had Ormond openly declared for the parliament, he would have rendered most material service to the king and confederates. No longer dupes to artifice, they would find in him an enemy much less formidable, than a dangerous feigned friend. His small disaffected force, either by famine or by arms, would soon be compelled to surrender; and the confederates, no longer amused by sham treaties, would have expelled the marauding covenanters back to Scotland, with disgrace. The

destruction of this covenanting army, by the victorious Owen Roe O'Nial, afterwards, proved that it was not lack of power, but respect for treaties, for the royal authority, traitorously perverted to their ruin, and an eager desire to send reinforcements to the king, withheld the avenging sword, and allowed the barbarous fanatic rebels to prowl on the blood and substance of the people so long. First, as lieutenant-general of the army, he was the prompt, willing and bloody instrument of the inhuman orders, issued by the justices, in obedience to the commands of the Westminster rebels, purposely to provoke the Irish to rise in arms. 2dly. Since, on the evil hour, he was appointed lord lieutenant, he followed the footsteps of the displaced justices, in perfect unison with the covenanters, but with more efficacy; as the former were notorious partizans, the latter, under the mask of loyalty, sapped the royal cause; playing their own resources against the royalists, the name and authority of the king, the subsidies and personal aid of the subjects. An intermediate agent between both, he abused their confidence to their ruin. 3dly. When he opposed the cessation with all his might; a measure so much desired by the king and his friends, so much dreaded and counteracted by their enemies; did he not prove whose servant he was, what party he favoured? When he proposed to the city of Dublin, and afterwards to the privy council, that if they could raise him ten thousand pounds he would recommence hostilities, and break off the treaty; yea, he after-

wards offered to set out on three thousand pounds. When he avowed to various correspondents, that he kept the cessation for the sake of subsisting his troops; because he could not subsist them without supplies from the confederates. When he refused, in his majesty's name, to declare the Scotch in Ulster, and Inchiquin in Munster, then in open rebellion against his majesty, and violating the cessation, rebels, to be proceeded against as common enemies! And why? Say his advocates, that would offend the English parliament, with whom they were in alliance! Fine excuse for a king's lieutenant, to take no step against his enemies, for fear of giving offence to them. But then he had no explicit order for it. Good again. This is mockery outrageous. If a viceroy of a kingdom, in time of troubles, or a general in the field, is to wait for positive orders, before he moves a step, or adopts any plan, till the time for action will be gone, there might as well be no deputy or general. Besides, that it was ridiculous to require positive orders for calling rebels rebels; and proceeding against them as such, with his forces, and the volunteer battallions of loyal subjects. But what could the loyal marquis do, so jealous of his reputation with the parliament? Not only he refused to proclaim the rebels, and employ his majesty's forces, subsisting on the bounty of the confederates, to suppress the outrages of the covenanters in the north, but he secretly negociated with these rebels! To gain them over to his majesty! say his advocates, Carte and Leland. How likely it

was, that he, who kept not the troops under his immediate command attached to his majesty, notwithstanding their military oath; as the sample sent to England proved, by their reluctance in marching, their backwardness in fighting the king's battle, their promptitude in joining the enemy's standard; and from Ormond's declaration, in answer to the confederates request of joining and commanding their troops to suppress the violations of the cessation, "that if he led his troops against the Scots, he dreaded a general revolt." Conscious then, of the infidelity of his own troops, held for the king, and engaged to his service on oath, by what arguments did he expect the conversion of the Scots, and other covenanters, to the royal cause; tied to the parliament, and the majority of England and Scotland, by the fanatical adjurations of the solemn league and covenant; inflamed with a hatred of popery, and the church established; but above all, cemented and animated with the hope of plunder, of which they had already unrestrained licence; and the prospect of fresh forfeitures and plantations, held out to them by the revolutionary leaders? We are not told what proselytes the loyal controvertist made; but, during the correspondence, Monroe took Belfast by surprise; and, turning out the king's troops, garrisoned the town for the parliament. The truth is, as Currie has fully proved,* "That he was all this while privately soliciting the king's

* Hist. Rev. c. 16.

greatest enemies in Ireland, to join all their forces with his, in order to renew the war against the confederate catholics: with whom he was, by his majesty's reiterated commands, publicly negotiating a peace. In the same chapter he gives evident proofs of the marquis's duplicity; in contrasting his correspondence with, and proposals to the Scotch, with the sentiments he expresses of the same people, in corresponding with those of the royal party; and in his public acts, in which he styles the covenant full of treason, sedition and disloyalty: while he authorized the commissioners of the parliament, to report to his secret masters, "that Ormond wanted but the power and opportunity of breaking with the confederates, and falling on them."* And this after spinning out the treaty one year and four months, from July 1644 to November 19th 1645. To sum up the whole of his conduct, it is quite manifest, that he never meant to conclude a peace with the confederates. It is further proved, from the frivolity of the pretences, which he eagerly grasped at, to postpone, adjourn, and by every artifice delay, the conclusion of peace. It is manifest, from his concealing from the Irish the powers he received from the king of granting their demands, and the promises of further concessions, not to be divulged for the present, on political considerations. From the vexation he expressed, that any part of the king's injunctions to him should transpire; and his impertinent

* Currie. Hist. Rev.

command to lord Digby, the king's minister, that no dispatch of his should be communicated to any of the Irish. It plainly follows, that, establishing himself the sole medium of communication, he meant to reserve the power of deceiving both parties; transmitting such propositions from the confederates to the king, and such answers from the king to them, as he thought proper for his own private views. His frequent applications to the king's enemies for assistance, to break the cessation, and remove every prospect of peace or succour to his majesty, are not more solid arguments of his infidelity, than his private and public management of the commission for concluding a peace. While the king sent orders for grace and concession, his deputy held the language of insulting tyranny. 'The king says, they shall have a constitutional parliament. The deputy says, "a new parliament you shall not have at any hand." You must be contented with a gang of intruders, consisting of clerks, attorneys, &c. illegally forced upon the house by Parsons, in room of the legitimate members, illegally excluded. No repeal of penal laws. You must own yourselves rebels, lay down your arms, and submit to your majesty's government! This was language for rebels subdued, at which the confederates spurned; with good reason deeming themselves loyal, as yet unbroken. We have heard of secret articles in a treaty; such Charles wished those concerning religion to remain. But an attempt to conceal and alter the propositions of one party to the other, was un-

questionable fraud on both. Why, then, did he accept a commission, whose purpose he intended to defeat? Why does every traitor accept a situation of trust? that he may the more effectually accomplish the destruction of such as confide in him. He accepted the commission, the better to defeat its object; and thereby serve the parliament and his own private interests. Had he refused the commission, he could no longer dupe the king and his loyal Irish subjects. They would look for another organ of communication, through whose intervention, if the organ was sound, a peace might speedily be concluded, between parties so zealously desirous of understanding one another; as it was by the mediation of Glamorgan, when too late, in one month, after being three years nearly protracted by the insidious arts of Ormond. From the king's distressed situation, great concessions might be expected to come; among the rest, a free parliament: a body of men, whose inquisitorial eye into their mal-practices, and treasonable transactions, neither Parsons nor Ormond would cheerfully meet. To which may be added, the magnificent promises of the Westminster rebels would be frustrated. By accepting the commission, they would, for a considerable time, be deprived of any other channel of mutual correspondence, become both difficult and hazardous, on account of the sanguinary order of parliament to their ships, which infested the Irish coast, who might be timely informed of the dispatch of agents from the supreme council; and no less danger

afterwards, in travelling through any part of England or Wales. The king was so circumstanced, with regard even to the loyal part of his English subjects, that he durst not avow the design of a liberal toleration to Irish papists, and must be delicate as to divulging any important concessions of civil rights. In the progress of this cautious circumspect management, in which prudence and will were at variance, many private instructions would be given, which it would be the highest impolicy to publish; and which prudential reasons would force a monarch, in bondage even to his own party, watched, criticized in all his actions with malignant industry by his adversaries, as a fomenter of Irish rebellion, as a favourer and abettor of popery, to disown, so far as that was practicable. The perplexity of the monarch, and the variation of his private instructions from his public dispatches, would leave his deputy room for hesitation, and wasting precious time, in awaiting fresh orders. The king's concessions he might, as in fact he did, conceal from his loyal subjects; and their demands he could magnify beyond reality; and interpret in the most invidious sense, with the comments of a puritannic faction, to whose scrutiny they were submitted, before transmitted to the king. While he and the parliament played into each other's hands, opportunities would occur, or be created, for procrastinating, or entirely breaking off the treaty. For this express purpose, many provocations were given; which the confederates, from a hearty desire of peace, and of succouring his

majesty, bore with uncommon meekness. The Scots and Inchiquin violated the cessation, committing the most shocking, inhuman excesses, by authority and command of the king's enemies. Ormond could, and did oppose the treaty of peace; but he could not oppose the violators of the truce, signed by himself; and therefore became a copartner in breach of treaty. These Scotch and Irish rebels were allies, too useful and necessary for him and his masters, to be suppressed; therefore, they went on from outrage to outrage, massacring, plundering, burning, with public connivance, and private encouragement, from the deputy, without any opposition, save what they experienced from the confederates; who were all this time feeding this loyal viceroy, and his disaffected garrison, while the whole object of his negotiation was, the ruin of his king and country.

In the structure of the Irish assembly too, he could flatter himself to find the means of division; which, according to the avowal of his advocates, he sedulously cultivated. The old and new Irish scarce as yet learned to eye each other as one people. Those, whose countries were forfeited and planted, were not of a mind with those whose estates had escaped the ordeal. The former could brook no peace, that would not restore them to the whole, or some considerable portion, of their property; the latter would be satisfied with a *uti possidetis*, or things as they are. The former would be encouraged to petition the assembly for restitution; the latter would be encouraged to oppose the petition; hence discord

and rupture. Besides that, in all popular institutions, the jealousy of ambitious demagogues and officers, contending for honours and preferment, would open a wide field for intrigue and dissention. That the noble marquis availed himself of every advantage, presented by the divided, distracted state of the nation; by the distresses of the king, and the growing power of his enemies; and laid hold of every incident that served to betray his king and country, defenceless, into the hands of their cruel, implacable enemies, with great address and ability, cannot be denied. In that canting age of religious hypocrisy, moral delinquency, and political treachery, he was hardly outdone by the cleverest adept in the infernal digest of the covenant. He lived to enjoy the triumph of his infernal machinations, his royal sovereign beheaded, and his country covered with ashes and dead bodies. But we have not as yet done with this great delinquent; more of his exploits in the sequel.

One might be tempted to ask, why did Charles continue him so long his viceroy? Let the querist reflect, that when Charles committed the management of the Irish war to parliament, he, in fact, during the continuance of that war, and until a definitive treaty of peace, surrendered the substantial part of the executive to them; and that none could keep the situation of his nominal viceroy, against whom they could object any thing; such as being Irish, Irish inclined; popish, popish inclined, unfit for war, &c. They had, in truth, a veto on the appointment of lord Dillon,

as one of the justices; they put in their veto, whereupon he was set aside. Hence their aversion to peace; because it would terminate their executive power in Ireland, strengthen the king, and weaken them; besides depriving them of a commodious bugbear for alarming the Bull family, and governing the panic-ridden multitude at pleasure; and taking away a popular pretext for raising men and money, for the Irish war, or for the relief of the poor, distressed, massacred protestants of Ireland, to carry on the war against the king. Therefore, no deputy could have their favour, who did not counteract the peace. 'Tis true, after the sword was drawn between them and the king, an honest deputy might easily shake off their trammels; especially, as all the money and men they could raise were expended in the cause of rebellion; and no supplies were sent, adequate to the support of a government at war with the Irish. That Ormond might have done. He could have saved his king and his country; and erected a monument of everlasting fame to his memory. Unfortunate Charles! ill-fated Ireland! ye had an unprincipled Machiavel to deal with, who preferred selfish views of family aggrandizement to duty and honour.

Already Charles had tried to benefit by a change of deputies. The rough, unqualified tyranny, the open, undisguised treasons of Parsons, provoked remonstrances against him. His removal from office caused no regret to his masters. He had hitherto answered their purpose by provoking and extending insurrection. Having

done thus much, his part in the drama was finished. A blunt, detected traitor to his majesty; odious to the Irish, by his principles, party, tyranny and treasons, was no longer suited to fill a station which required, to serve their turn, dissimulation, intrigue, the art of managing parties, and all the arts of deception that can be learned in the political school painted by Machiavoglio. The headstrong fury of Parsons would lead to a sanguinary war directly, for the prosecution of which the English commons could not spare sufficient means, from the necessary expenditure of their own rebellion. They wanted, therefore, an insinuating ambidextrous politician, who could deceive both the king and the Irish; and, deceiving both, by appearances of frankness, and speeches of loyalty and attachment, to ward off peace, and wage no war, but keep them suspended between both, as 'tis fabled of Mahomet's coffin; neither downright peace, or downright war; but a suspense and agitation, vastly worse for the king and Irish, than the hottest war the parliamentarians could then wage in Ireland, and more beneficial to the English rebels. Because that unsettled state of suspense and agitation effectually deprived the king of all the resources he might otherwise derive from Ireland, and eased the parliament, pro interim, of the burden of an Irish war. Had Parsons been suffered in power a little longer, a fierce war, and a total derout of the rebel parliamentarians in Ireland, would be the speedy consequence; when the confederates, unshackled by treaties made to

decoy them, unopposed might send powerful reinforcements to the king, before it was too late.

How unfortunate was Charles, when he dismissed the rough, unpolished rebel Parsons, to chuse one infinitely more dangerous, because more refined and artful, the favourite and bosom friend of the rebel commons, on whom they long before had conferred a valuable diamond, as a token of their esteem, and whom they recommended to royal favour with more than usual warmth! (this was before the rupture.) What blindfolded the poor king in this inauspicious choice, we can barely conjecture. His deputy must be a protestant. To counterbalance the insignificance, to which his resignation of the management of the Irish war brought his deputies, it was desirable he should be an Irishman, of great family and interest in the country. If one should be found, endowed with statistic and military talents, he would deserve the preference. The earl of Ormond appeared to combine all these requisites. He had been tried in war and in council; was one of the most opulent and powerful noblemen of the kingdom; of great influence over an extensive train of followers. His family was conspicuous for inflexible adherence to English interest; never known to give up an iota of English supremacy, for the benefit of Ireland. Such was the man, destined by fate or providence, for the downfall of his king and country. Charles had more occasions than one to repent him of his choice; but he was too deep in his tails, too

far entrusted with the *arcana imperii*, to be provoked. What were the *arcana*, whose promulgation appeared so terrific to the king? Unhappy, fallen, degraded king; a slave to those who fought for him; a target to those who fought against him; beset with spies, false friends; sold, betrayed in every quarter. Why, those dreadful secrets, communicated to Ormond, to be cautiously communicated to the supreme council of the confederates, under seal of secrecy, and which the deputy maliciously withheld from them, amounted only to this, that his majesty pledged himself by every tie of honour and religion, as a king and christian, that he would grant their demand to the Irish catholics, if they assisted him to get the better of his enemies.

Finding the third year of the negotiation far advanced, without a nearer approach to a conclusion, than when it commenced, and his own affairs verging to a crisis, he found it high time to employ a more sincere mediator of peace than Ormond; who, it clearly appeared by this time, had no real intention of concluding, but rather of evading and procrastinating it. The displacing one deputy, and appointing another, under the limitations he had restricted himself to, he found, by experience, to answer no purpose. The formalities, attending such public acts, would require more time than the pressure of his affairs would admit. Besides, such an affront to that haughty peer might provoke him to give publicity to state secrets, very injurious to the king in his present predicament. Why, the good

people of England, loyal and disloyal, would learn with astonishment and indignation, that their king dare treat the Irish as fellow men and fellow christians; that their loyalty and services should be requited; their persons and property secured; their nation represented in a free parliament, as well as the English are in England; and their religion tolerated. To avoid two evils, delay, and the publicity of his intentions, so reasonable in themselves, so odious to a people the most irrationally selfish, he chose a special agent, to treat and conclude a peace with the Irish. No man could suit his purpose better than Edward Somerset, lord Herbert, eldest son of the marquis of Worcester, afterwards created earl of Glamorgan, a zealous royalist and catholic. "Upon this earl's first arrival at Kilkenny, lord Muskerry acquainted the marquis of Ormond from thence, with the business he came about, in general terms. To which his excellency answered, "that he knew no subject in England upon whose favour and authority with his majesty, and the real and innate nobility, he could better rely, than upon lord Glamorgan's; nor any person whom he (Ormond) would more endeavour to serve, in those things which that lord should undertake for his majesty's service."

"This answer lord Muskerry communicated to the general assembly, then sitting at Kilkenny; as an indication that his excellency was disposed to support, or at least would not disavow, any agreement they should make with Glamorgan. Upon which presumption, the assembly resolved

to conclude a public peace, for civil matters, with the marquis of Ormond, on his own terms; after they had made a private one with that earl for matters of religion; which last they soon after did about the latter end of August, 1645.”*

Here we see, that as soon as a negotiator took up the business in earnest, he found no reluctance or opposition from the confederates. Would not one think the marquis a wisher of peace, from the warmth with which he recommended Glamorgan? He could no longer conceal the king's promises from the catholics; they having full assurance thereof, from one of the king's most confidential friends, his legate a latere. He could no longer decline accepting the treaty, without openly declaring himself the enemy of both king and country, which it was his policy to conceal. As for his eulogium on Glamorgan, whose mission was a heavy censure on his own incapacity or treachery, it is an ordinary resource of statesmen, to veil chagrin, disgust, or hatred, under a volley of compliments. Those who betray are, by a consciousness of detection, or even suspicion, of which the mission of Glamorgan was proof positive, stimulated to revenge. By what method will just now appear. “The government's determined opposition to a peace with the Irish, on any tolerable terms, made it absolutely necessary to keep the treaty with Glamorgan secret. But a copy of it having been accidentally found, soon after its conclusion, it was

* Curry's Rev. Civil Wars in Irel.

transmitted to the English parliament, and by them made public. And lord Digby, who was then in Dublin, fearing that the large concessions, in point of religion, which the confederate catholics had obtained by that peace, might alienate the affections of his majesty's protestant subjects in both kingdoms, did, in concert with the lord lieutenant, summon the earl of Glamorgan before the council; where they confidently accused him of having either forged, or surreptitiously obtained his majesty's commission; upon which, on the 26th of December, the earl was committed close prisoner to the castle of Dublin. About the same time that the king was prevailed upon, publicly to disavow, in a message to both houses of the English parliament, Glamorgan's commission, and thereby made void the peace, lately concluded with the confederate catholics, in virtue of it.

“ In what light we are to consider his majesty's public disavowal of Glamorgan's commission, may, I think, partly be gathered from his dispatch to the lord lieutenant and council of Ireland on that occasion; wherein, among other things, he says, “ the truth is, that the pressing condition of my affairs, obliging me to procure a peace in Ireland, if it might be had on any terms safe to my honour and conscience, and to my protestant subjects there; and finding also that the said peace could not be gained but by some indulgence to the Roman catholics, in point of freeing them from the penalties imposed upon the exercise of their religion, as although justly

and duly I might grant, yet haply, in public transaction, could not be without some scandal to such of my good subjects as might be apt to be wrought upon by their arts, who did continually watch all opportunities to blast the integrity of my actions; I thought fit, over and above my public power, to assure the said Roman catholics, in a less public way, of the said exemptions from the penalties of the laws; and of some such other graces as might, without blemish to my honour and conscience, and without prejudice to my protestant subjects, be afforded them. With the knowledge of those secret instructions to the marquis of Ormond, I thought fit to acquaint the earl of Glamorgan, at his going to Ireland; being confident of his hearty affection to my service; and withal, knowing his interest with the Roman catholic party to be very considerable, I thought it not unlikely that the marquis of Ormond might make good use of him, by employing that interest, in persuading them to moderation, and to rest satisfied upon his (Glamorgan's) engagement also, with these above-mentioned concessions; of which, in the present condition of affairs, Ormond could give them no other but a private assurance; and to that end, it was possible, I might have thought to give unto the said earl of Glamorgan such a credential as might give him credit with the Roman catholics, in case Ormond should find occasion to make use of him, either as a further assurance of what he (Ormond) should privately promise; or in case he should judge it necessary

to manage these matters for the greater confidence, a part by him (Glamorgan) of whom, in regard of his religion and interest, they might be less jealous."

"On the 30th of the same month of December, the earl of Glamorgan, having sent to the lord lieutenant the original counterpart of the articles of peace with the confederate catholics, was set free from his close confinement, but still remained a prisoner in the castle, having only the liberty of the house, until his majesty's further pleasure was known. And shortly after, his lordship was enlarged, upon his own recognizance of twenty thousand pounds, and that of the earl of Kildare, and the marquis of Claonrickard, of ten thousand pounds each, to appear on thirty days notice. Soon after his enlargement he went to Kilkenny, where he shewed the utmost zeal to bring the confederate catholics to agree to the terms of peace offered by the marquis of Ormond, the defects of which, in the articles of religion, were to be supplied by himself."*

Curry says, that a copy of the secret treaty was found by accident, and communicated to the long parliament. Leland says, it was found in a bishop's packet, who was slain fighting at Sligo. The copy was procured, and the procurer was as interested to keep the manner of communication secret, as the king and Glamorgan were to cover their transactions with the confederates in secrecy. Is it probable, the vigilant and powerful enemies

* Carte's Ormond.

of Charles would leave the discovery of such important affairs to accident? They, who narrowly watched his every motion; had him beset with their spies; every foreign correspondence pried into by their agents; most particularly his negotiations with the council at Kilkenny. The mission of Glamorgan, and the king's expectations therefrom, was no secret to them. The nature of a treaty with Irish papists, that shunned publicity, while it craved powerful succour, was readily guessed; but an authenticated, not accidental copy, whose publication might, as the temper of times stood, disgrace and injure the king, was desirable. The Irish government was devoted to them; they had their agents at Kilkenny; and, besides, Ormond extorted a copy thereof, during Glamorgan's confinement in the castle, under promise of secrecy. It is not easy to see, what Ormond could want with a copy, if he meant to keep it secret. First, he was, in the fact of seducing or bullying Glamorgan into a breach of secrecy, guilty of breaking the secrecy which he promised. *Qui facit per alium, facit per se.* "He who gets an act done by another, makes it thereby his own act." 2dly, The concessions there made or promised to Irishmen and catholics, were as much as possible to be concealed, even from the king's partizans, until the king should be in a condition to fulfil them. 3dly, The secret treaty, and the private embassy, whereby it was conducted, were odious to him; partly, as an avowed enemy to popery, an efficient partizan of the rebels, his services to whom were

too slightly veiled by the insincerity of professions. Conscious that a distrust of his principles occasioned the mission extraordinary, the best revenge he could take for this affront would be, to hand over a true copy of the secret treaty to the king's enemies. What else did an enemy to that treaty want with it? If ever the adage be correct, 'shun the over curious, for they will be prattlers,' it is, when an enemy betrays an overweening desire of knowing the secrets of his foe; when a statesman wishes to sift secret measures, which he detests. In state affairs, and diplomatic transactions, plagiarism, swindling, theft and forgery, have been practised. That no copy of it was found in the king's cabinet, after the fatal battle of Naseby, the king's message to both houses, disavowing the commission, may pass for sufficient proof. They did well, to father the copy on a dead man, who could not rise to refute them. Yet 'tis unlikely a prelate going to war should be entrusted with such an instrument. He might, possibly, have formed an address to his soldiers, encouraging them to fight valiantly for a good and gracious monarch, who held out prospects of relief to his catholic subjects, which on such occasions would rather be magnified than extenuated; but such a military harangue was not the authentic copy of a secret treaty, to be published to the face of those who concluded it, in defiance of contradiction. The treaty, however, was concluded too late for the king's affairs, or for any benefit to Ireland; through the pride and obstinacy of the popish confede-

rates, say Ormond's advocates, who elsewhere lay the blame to the pope's nuncio and the Irish catholic clergy.

The reader, I trust, has been satisfied, that the real culprit, who treacherously delayed the peace until it came too late, has been unmasked, and pourtrayed in his proper features. He, who promoted the civil war with all his might, in conjunction with the justices, devoted servants of the rebel parliament; who constantly opposed the cessation, making frequent overtures for assistance to break it; who, after its conclusion, refused to take care it should be observed; refused to proclaim the king's enemies, in open rebellion against him, or use the sword, put into his hand for that purpose, against them; who was so tender of his reputation with the covenanters, as to decline the king's service, that he should not give offence to his enemies; who could excuse himself from discharging the duties of his station in the king's service, on frivolous pretences, 'that the privy council would not agree to it; that it would disgust protestants; but, above all, that prosecuting their friends and allies would provoke the formidable parliament;' who, while he publicly carried on a mockery of negotiation, in the king's name, and by his authority, with the confederates, was privately, and with more sincerity, treating with the king's enemies, the Scots, and other British rebels, in Ulster, for a treaty of alliance against his majesty and his loyal subjects; who was barely prevented, by a warning from the king, to let Dublin and

Drogheda fall into the hands of the English and Scotch rebels; a private article, one may suppose, which he afterwards, in due season, punctually fulfilled. In a word, let the proceedings of the parties, in this long-spun negotiation, be dispassionately scanned, and the blame of protracting, and ultimately defeating, by delay, the chief objects of the treaty, will not fall on the confederates, or their clergy, who sincerely and eagerly wished for it, as an emancipation from present ills, and a security against future; but, on the guilty man, who invariably thwarted and crossed the wishes and welfare of his king and country, both in his public acts and private intrigues.

In a history, so obscured by the prejudices and passions of various partizans, many difficulties remain to be cleared; none more interesting to the cause of religion and historical truth, than the false light in which the conduct of the pope's legate, and that of the catholic clergy in general, is viewed. Their character has suffered under a load of obloquy, flung on them by writers of all parties. The accusation of some protestant writers, of their having struggled for a re-establishment of their hierarchy, as founded on no authentic document, may be omitted. As to their opposition to the unprecedented sort of a smuggled peace, carried on by Glamorgan, it is reasonable to examine the grounds of their objections, before we condemn them. Not to dwell on an indisputable axiom, too often deviated from; that ligeance and allegiance are reciprocal: that the sovereignty, rest where it will, with one, few, or

many, owes impartial justice, and protection in person, property, and civil rights, to all who have not by their conduct, and the judgment of the law and their country, forfeited the same. Not to insist on the imperious claim of strenuous exertions of loyalty, in critical times of danger, had the clergy, had the confederates, a right to rest satisfied with the declaration of a private agent, and that too soon after disowned by Charles, in a message to both houses? The king, in his distress, would promise mountains; but where the security for performance? Who denied the promise while expecting succour, would be more punctilious, when established in power, independent of that succour? Would they rely on the magnitude of their services? They knew not then, that sovereigns dislike those to whom they owe too much; or might not the gratitude of the son resemble that of the sire, who, on receiving unusually large supplies from an Irish popish parliament, courteously, in the court fashion of his family, bid his lieutenant thank them for their alacrity in granting the supplies; and put the penal laws strictly in force against them! Would they rest their expectations on the character of Charles? The royal martyr may have been a very good man, but, unluckily, very few of his subjects, protestant or catholic, English, Irish or Scotch, had implicit faith in his declarations or promises. If we believe Leland, English catholics would not rely on his promise of toleration; because, in violation of his oath, he surrendered Strafford and the bishops. He

seemed to think, that principle must yield to circumstances; which made many desert his service, apprehensive of being sacrificed, should his circumstances make it appear expedient. At all events, there can be but little doubt, that a prince, so forward to send a public disclaimer to both houses, then at open war with him, of any promise or intention to enfranchise catholics, to whose aid he looked as his sheet anchor, would, in case of an accommodation with his English parliament, as a token of cordial union, forget any promises made to so odious a people, when their service was no longer courted.

Renuncini thought it unbecoming the dignity of the holy see, to proffer alliance and support to any monarch, who would not give some public pledge of his determination to tolerate the catholic faith. A secret treaty, made by a secret agent, and afterwards disowned, he could not accept as such. This must be allowed consistent with his public character, as pope's nuncio, protector of the catholic faith, and his unacquaintance with the English system of governing Ireland. Better informed on that subject, he would drop the vain distinction between public and private treaty. He would no more rely on a public treaty, signed by the deputy, than on a clandestine one, signed by his footman; because the established maxim is, no faith to be kept with the Irish; and this maxim, older than the reformation, inculcated and acted upon by English papists!!! He would find, that the English never made a treaty with the Irish, which they did not violate. That

they always treated the Irish as natural enemies, with whom peace was but truce; and treaties, political expedients. In after times, the treaty of Limerick was as solemn a pledge of public faith as could be required. It was accelerated from certain information, that considerable reinforcements and military stores were on their way, to relieve the brave garrison. Shortly after it was signed, the French fleet, with troops, stores and provisions, appeared in sight; the garrison, as honourable as brave, refused to receive them. The English broke the treaty—it was made with the Irish. They enlarged the penal code, like Draco's laws, written in blood. They were scourges for the Irish. Not ill informed of these particulars, the nuncio waved the distinction between English treaties with Ireland, public or private, only recommending to the confederates, to rest on their arms, until security could be obtained; meanwhile, to send succours to the king. What security, shall it be asked, could be given at that conjuncture? A free parliament. Charles could summon an Irish parliament; and the confederates, in despite of Ormond and Monroe, could enforce the summons. Without obtaining this grant, their due, and in his power, no adequate reason can be assigned, why the Irish should sacrifice their lives and fortunes in his defence; unless, as was frequently urged to them, their defence was connected with his, against a common enemy, implacably bent on the ruin of both.

Having hitherto assigned Renuncini's motives

for not abetting a clandestine truce, affording no pledge for civil or religious rights; and his advice to the confederates, not to be dissolved or disarmed, by what would be improperly called a peace, until they had obtained such security; it may not be displeasing to trace the cause of his mission to Ireland, independent of the vague one given by Leland, "the desire of a new pontiff to distinguish the commencement of his pontificate by zeal for religion." In the capital of the christian faith, formerly mistress of the world by the sword, as latterly by the word, Ireland had a powerful friend, unsolicited, unemployed, but not the less zealous. Luke Wading, native of the county of Wexford, was professor of theology in the Irish Franciscan convent at Rome, where he became a member of the order. An eminent divine is, at any time, a respectable character; but, in them days of religious war and warlike controversy, when kings and princes disputed the cause with the pen, as well as with cannon, he was a superior being. Great learning, modesty and piety, recommended Wading to the public, and to the cardinals, princes and bishops of Italy. Though absent in the flesh, his affections were centered in his native country; and the only conflict he could experience would be, between patriotism and piety; if such congenial passions can conflict, which so naturally assimilate and blend all the secondary virtues in their train. The civil war raging in Ireland, the persecution of catholics, the threats of extermination, repeatedly hurled out against them by the English

parliament, and other covenanting clubs, were the frequent subjects of his melancholy reflexions and fervent prayers. Neither inferior in merit or zeal for his country and religion to the preachers of the crusade, like them, he employed his eloquence and influence to raise friends in support of his distressed country and persecuted communion. By his indefatigable and successful exertions, he was enabled to send large supplies of money to Ireland. On the accession of his particular friend and patron, cardinal Pamphilio, to the chair of St. Peter, he prevailed on his holiness publicly to espouse the cause of the Irish catholics, sending them a nuncio with liberal supplies. On his way to Ireland, he stopt at Paris, to wait on the queen of England, who would gladly have detained him there, until the Irish treaty should be concluded. “ He had intimated a desire of attending her with the usual solemnity, and producing his credentials in a public audience. But the law of England did not allow the admission of a foreign minister without consent of the king and council; and the English protestants of her court warned her majesty of the danger of such a visit, which would imply a treaty between the king and the pope. The nuncio was too tenacious of the honour of the holy see, to accept a private audience: so that their correspondence was carried on by the intervention of the attendants on each side, Sir Dudley Wyatt and Dominic Spinola.

“ The nuncio expressed his attachment to the king, and, according to his instructions, endea-

voured to convince her majesty that the business on which he was to proceed would prove the most effectual means of restoring his power and authority. The queen, with equal insincerity, declared her satisfaction at his being appointed to go to Ireland, and the hopes she entertained that by his mediation a firm peace would be established between her royal consort and the Irish, an event equally necessary to the interests of both. She represented the danger of the catholic confederates, should the king be totally subdued, or forced to an agreement with his adversaries. Hence she inferred the necessity, that the Irish should moderate their demands, and not "endeavour to extort the whole at once." She mentioned her desire, that the nuncio should stay at Paris until the treaty should be finished; that by his endeavours with the pope, he might have the honour of giving success to an affair so ardently desired by all the powers of Europe, who justly trembled at the ruin of the king of England, and dreaded the conjunction of the English parliamentarians with the Huguenots and Dutch, a conjunction hateful and formidable to all monarchies.

"This intimation was enforced by a memorial which the nuncio received from the catholics of England. They had heard that Sir Kenelm Digby had been sent by the queen to apply for subsidies at Rome. They solicited Rinuccini that these subsidies should be refused, until the Irish should receive their just demands with regard to religion, and the rights and interests of English

catholics be equally secured. They proposed to unite with their brethren of Ireland, so as to form one army for defence of the king; but insisted on a previous concession of their demands, and full security for the performance. "The king," said they, "is not to be trusted, when his interest may tempt him to agree with his parliament, to whom he had so often solemnly declared his resolution to consent to any severities against the catholics. And that there can be no reliance on his word, appears from the case of the earl of Strafford and the bishops, whom he sacrificed, though sworn to protect them."

"In this bustle of negociation, the nuncio amused himself with the flattering idea, that he had proceeded considerably in the glorious work of extirpating the northern heresy, the object of his labours, and professedly the final object of the English catholics. The queen was solicitous for an absolute pacification in Ireland. The catholics of England also, represented it as the first necessary step to all their measures, and the means of transporting such a body of Irish troops, as, in conjunction with the English of the same religious profession, would at once serve the king, and over-awe him, so as to extort the performance of those conditions, which, if left to his own free choice, he might not grant. A scheme was now revived for transferring the conduct of the Irish treaty to the queen of England and queen regent of France. The nuncio was thus further flattered at the prospect of that important part he was to take in this negociation, and being regarded as

an umpire between the king and the catholic confederates. But the court of Rome deemed his presence necessary in Ireland, to preserve the interests of the church. He was repeatedly ordered to proceed on his journey, embarked, and arrived at Kilkenny on the twelfth day of November, when the negociation with Ormond seemed hastening to a conclusion.

“ In his first audience of the supreme council he professed the fairest intentions of promoting the interests of religion and the peace of the kingdom. The council on their part assured him, that all their proceedings should be with his knowledge and concurrence. They explained the several concessions granted by the lord lieutenant in civil affairs; and those of a religious nature yielded by the earl of Glamorgan. In such a situation, they observed, it was of the utmost importance to determine what might still be requisite for the preservation of their religion, and support of the king, as his necessities were urgent, the power of the English parliament formidable, and the cessation speedily to determine.

“ Glamorgan also addressed himself to the nuncio, with particular deference. He declared the utmost reverence for his character, a firm resolution of acting entirely with his concurrence and by his direction; explained the nature of his commissions to treat with the Irish, together with several other powers he had received from the king, and which demonstrated the extraordinary confidence his majesty reposed in him. He

shewed him a letter from the king, sealed, and addressed to pope Innocent the Tenth, as a proof of his attachment to the holy see: and to the nuncio himself, he delivered another letter, in which Charles expressed satisfaction at his purpose of going to Ireland; desiring him to unite with the earl of Glamorgan, and promising to ratify whatever they should jointly resolve; recommending a punctual observance of secrecy, and assuring him, that although this letter was the first he had written to a minister of the pope, yet he hoped it would not be the last. “When the earl,” said he, “and you have concerted your measures, we shall openly shew ourself, as we have assured him,—Your friend.”

“The only effect of such condescensions was to make this vain ecclesiastic more confident and assuming. He objected to the terms both of the public and private treaty as insufficient and precarious. He condemned the design of publishing the political articles, while the religious were suppressed, a matter of great scandal to foreigners, who would obviously conclude, that the honour and freedom of religion had been sacrificed to temporal advantages. The performance of these religious articles, he observed, was doubtful and insecure; the king might be reduced to an utter inability of confirming them; the earl of Glamorgan, who alone could insist on such a confirmation, might be suddenly taken off by death. If the confederates were cautious of alienating the protestants, by publishing the religious articles, they should be at least equally

cautious of alienating the pope and all christian princes, by suppressing them. And even in these boasted articles, he observed, no mention had been made of a catholic lord lieutenant, no provision for catholic bishops and universities, no stipulation for a continuance of the supreme council, or government of the confederates. The council endeavoured to obviate these objections. Various papers were drawn up, discussed, answered, without any effect, but to confirm the nuncio in his opinion, and the moderate confederates in their purpose of an immediate accommodation.

“ The nuncio, when he found it impracticable to bring the council into his own measures, resolved to give every opposition in his power to their sentiments. He summoned the Romish bishops, now at Kilkenny, to a private meeting. Eight attended, and joined with him in a protestation against the peace, and a resolution to oppose it. Their instrument was not to be produced, “ until the treaty should be abruptly or preposterously concluded by the council.” Such was the affected style of their resolutions. The nuncio, in the next place, addressed himself to Glamorgan. He gravely observed that the king should no longer be deceived by heretics; that the safety of his crown depended, next under God, on the pope, and the union of all his catholic subjects with those of other countries; that it was of the utmost moment to his interests to secure the Irish, by granting all their just petitions; and that his lordship was bound to apply

those extensive powers with which he was entrusted, to the service of the king and monarchy, as well as to the establishment of the orthodox faith. The earl, whose temper and understanding were nearly on a level with those of the Italian prelate, readily yielded to these instances. He was impatient to remove every difficulty to his appearing at the head of an Irish army; and his bigotry and vanity united in prevailing on him to sign an instrument, by way of appendage to his former treaty. He now engaged, that when ten thousand Irish should be sent into England, the king should oblige himself never to employ any but a catholic lord lieutenant of Ireland; to allow the catholic bishops to sit in parliament, universities to be erected under their regulation, and that the jurisdiction of the supreme council should subsist until all the private articles were ratified.

“ To counteract the schemes of those confederates who wished to make peace on such terms as might secure the toleration, without the establishment of their religion, he produced the plan of a treaty said to be framed by the pope, and transmitted by his nephew, cardinal Pamfilio. It consisted of extravagant provisions for the church. Rinuccini was empowered to make such additions as he should think proper: his additional articles were still more extravagant: and the whole collection of absurdity and presumption was presented as a treaty already formed and determined at Rome, though not approved by the queen, nor signed by his agent, Sir Kenelm

Digby. He collected his clergy, and easily prevailed on them to sign a protestation in favour of this treaty. He recommended it to the general assembly, as the only plan on which their rights and interests could be effectually secured: he exhorted them to wait the arrival of the original articles; in the mean time, to prolong the cessation, and to send their forces for the relief of Chester. He wrought with equal assiduity to gain Glamorgan to his project. This earl, who, from his conversation with the ministers in Dublin, had adopted what were called among his associates the sentiments of moderation, declared loudly for a speedy conclusion of the civil articles with Ormond, and for considering his own separate treaty as a sufficient security for the ecclesiastical interests. His instability, and impatience to lead an army to the relief of his royal master, now disposed him to comply with the nuncio. He wrote to the marquis, that "the effects of his secret endeavours absolutely vanished, when a more advantageous peace was offered by the munificent and powerful hand of her majesty;" assured him, "that it was of the utmost importance to the king and kingdom, that no cause of offence should be given to the pope's nuncio;" insinuating the necessity of treating with him in his own manner, and on his own terms. "But since the high post," said he, "which you hold, and the difference of religion, will not permit your excellency to engage openly in this affair, I believe it would not be at all improper for you to delegate that office to others,

with whom, if your excellency shall join me, who, though unequal in other respects, am inferior to none in friendship and regard for you; I doubt not that we shall in a few days, and even a few hours, obtain of the nuncio whatever shall be thought reasonable and honourable for his majesty; myself alone having by the interest and good will of the nuncio, gained this point, that three thousand soldiers are designed to be sent to the relief of Chester; and to-morrow or next day, he is to have the chief management of that proposal in the general assembly."

"The style of this letter seems to imply a consciousness in Glamorgan, that his powers from the king were genuine and authentic. The answer of the marquis of Ormond seems also inconsistent with a real persuasion that the earl was not duly authorised to treat with the confederates. He cautiously declines engaging in any negotiation foreign to the powers he had received; expresses his total ignorance of any grounds for the expectation of advantageous conditions by means of her majesty. "My affections and interest," saith he, "are so tied to his majesty's cause, that it were madness in me to disgust any man that hath power and inclination to relieve him in the sad condition he is in; and, therefore, your lordship may securely go on in the way you have proposed to yourself to serve the king, without fear of interruption from me, or so much as inquiring into the means you work by."

"While the nuncio exerted himself with such vigour in favour of a treaty, which probably had

no existence but in his own heated imagination; while he ventured to assure the general assembly, that the original of this treaty was daily expected from Rome by the hands of Sir Kenelm Digby; the more sensible and moderate of this assembly contended for the speedy conclusion of the treaty with the marquis of Ormond. They urged the condescension of the king in granting all their temporal conditions: that in spirituals, nothing was wanting but the pomp and ostentation of public worship, and an established hierarchy. The circumstances of the king, they observed, could not admit any further concessions: they should rely on his inclinations manifested by the earl of Glamorgan, and otherwise. The pope himself had declared, that a connivance was all that could at present be reasonably demanded for their religion. One ecclesiastic attested the reality of this declaration; another, with a virulence intolerable to the nuncio, maintained that his tale of a Roman treaty was a slander on the queen, an imposition on the Irish, purposely devised to ruin the king, and to prevent the peace. Others again, with greater indulgence to this intractable prelate observed, that a conclusion of the civil articles could be of no prejudice to any ecclesiastical peace from by the pope; since it was provided, that all things should stand good which the king might grant in point of religion, by the intervention of any person whatever.

“ In the midst of these delays and altercations, the impatience of the earl of Glamorgan was redoubled. He flew from one party to another,

attempted to moderate the violence of each, professed the warmest attachment to the nuncio; signed an instrument, whereby he engaged in the king's name to ratify the Roman treaty, provided, that if the original articles should arrive by the first day of May, his instrument should be void; and, in the mean time, kept secret, unless the political peace with Ormond should be published before that day. The nuncio yielded to these condescensions of Glamorgan. They signed a convention with some deputies of the general assembly, whereby it was stipulated, that the cessation should continue to the first of May; that if the original of the pope's treaty was not then produced, the nuncio should ratify what he and Glamorgan should agree upon; that the political treaty with the lord lieutenant should proceed, provided that nothing should be concluded or published, no alteration of civil government attempted, nor any thing in prejudice to the present transaction. From the readiness of Glamorgan's concessions, Rinunccini still suspected his sincerity. He still dreaded, that the earl might unite with Ormond in opposition to a treaty received from the pope. To remove such impressions, the earl, by a voluntary oath, engaged to support the nuncio and his measures against the partizans of Ormond, and all others: he declared his resolution of going to France, to procure transports for such forces as should be provided for the king; he amused the vain prelate with promises of vast military stores, together with a considerable navy, to be entirely at his

devotion and command. The suspicions of the nuncio were thus quieted: he exhorted the general assembly to proceed in their preparations for peace and war; and Glamorgan hastened to Waterford, to attend the embarkation of the troops destined for the relief of Chester, when this city had already surrendered to the parliament.

“ The earl was still possessed with apprehensions of the instability of the nuncio, and the opposition he might still make to the design of sending effectual succours to the king. From Waterford he repeated his zealous assurances of attachment, and his magnificent promises to this prelate. He offered to make use of his powers of conferring titles; and to create one earl, two viscounts, and three barons, at the nomination of the nuncio, so as to enable him to gratify his Irish friends, and strengthen his party. At the same time, in a strain of perfect confidence, he assured the unhappy Charles, that ten thousand men should speedily be transported for his service; and that, his majesty remaining still constant in a favourable opinion and right interpretation of his poor endeavours, he doubted not of procuring him to be a glorious and happy prince. The publication of the king’s message to parliament, in which Glamorgan’s private treaty was disavowed, seemed scarcely to damp the confidence of this lord; however it surprised and confounded the confederates. He represented it as “ a forced renunciation:” he declared, that the king had expressly instructed him, that “ if by any un-

fortunate accident he should be involved in counsels apparently contrary to the powers granted to his lordship, that he should consider them only as an additional motive to hasten to the succour and rescue of his sovereign:" he spoke with ease and assurance of the military stores, subsidies, and transports he was to procure by his negotiations on the continent, and required only that he might find an army ready on his return.

"While the earl of Glamorgan was thus preparing for an embarkation never to be effected, and indulged his imagination with splendid projects never to be executed, the supreme council of confederates was engaged in the final settlement of their treaty with the marquis of Ormond. The articles to which he had assented appeared so satisfactory to the general assembly, that even their prelates concurred in accepting and approving them. It had indeed been formerly stipulated with the nuncio, that no peace should be concluded until the first day of May; but the new general assembly, convened on the sixth of March, did not consider themselves as bound by this convention. Their former agents were commissioned to conclude the treaty; and, in defiance of the protestation thundered by the nuncio against their further proceeding, the treaty was concluded on the twenty-eighth of the same month. It was attended with a conditional obligation, whereby the king was disengaged from all his concessions, unless those succours were obtained, which were the great purpose and final

object of his negotiations with the Irish. The confederates engaged to transport six thousand foot well armed and provided, by the first day of April, and four thousand more by the first of the ensuing month. In the mean time, the treaty was to be deposited in the hands of Clanricarde (now created a marquis,) as an instrument of no force until these troops should be sent away. It was agreed, that the peace should be published with all due solemnity on the first of May. But if the troops were not sent at the times appointed, (unless prevented by some unavoidable impediment, or reasonable cause, to be allowed by the marquis of Ormond,) the articles were to be considered as no effect, and the counterparts to be mutually restored to the respective parties.”*

The observations preceding this narrative appeared necessary, as none written by an impartial pen can be obtained, except in brief scraps and quotations. The treaty was indeed too long deferred; but not, as Leland says, by the pride and obstinacy of the Irish confederates, but by the perfidious policy of the king's lieutenant, who deferred it until it could not injure the parliament, or serve the king; and when he could no longer defer acceding to it, without acknowledging his hostility to his king and country, for which circumstances were not as yet ripe. The subsequent measures of the confederates shew, that this delay alone deprived the king of such succours, as, arriving in due season, might enable him to subdue his English and Scotch enemies.

* Leland.

“ The supreme council of the confederate catholics, immediately issued warrants to have four thousand men drawn out of the standing forces of Leinster and Munster, and two thousand more from the other provinces; prefixing a day for their being at Ballyshake and Passage, places commodious for their embarkation. And they gave out commissions for levying the remaining four thousand, which were to be transported in a second mission; having laid embargoes on all vessels in the river of Waterford, and in the harbours of Wexford and Dungarvan. And as no industry was omitted on their part, so there was not any occasion, since the beginning of the war, wherein the council found more prompt obedience to their commands, or more hearty willingness in the people, to bear any charge that might conduce to the advancement of it.”*

“ But the king himself, on account of the unhappy situation of affairs, in the places now mentioned, thought fit to countermand this embarkation. For, in a letter to the marquis of Ormond, March 26th, (two days before the conclusion of the peace) he told him, “ that his condition was then very sad and low, by the late disbanding of his army in the west; which,” adds his majesty, “ if succours of foot had arrived in time out of Ireland, might have been prevented, to our most certain advantage. That he thought fit to advertise him thereof, that he might stop the sending over foot, which would be lost, if they should come, he having no horse, nor ports

* Carte's Ormond.

in his power to secure them." And in another letter to lord Digby, of the same date, which he desired him to communicate to Ormond, he says, "forces from Ireland, unless they were much greater than he believed could be sent him from thence, would do him more harm than good; yet that he much desired that the peace there was made. But that Ormond stop any forces from coming over, and employ them for the reducing of that kingdom into a perfect obedience; by which," says he, "it is possible, it may please God to restore me to the other two; or be a safe retreat for myself."*

Carte and Leland tell the public, Ormond was zealous for this peace; and that the principal enemies to it were, the pope's nuncio, Owen Roe O'Nial, and their adherents. Curry acknowledges the hostility of the latter to that peace; but represents Ormond, at bottom, an enemy to it, and with good reason. What fresh inducement had he, in 1646, to be zealous for a measure, which he thwarted and delayed by art and chicanery, recurring to the most frivolous pretences to palliate his tergiversation? Was it zeal for the king's service? Why did not that zeal appear while he could render effectual service, by the timely settlement of this kingdom. He, who betrayed his cause, and served his enemies, while his prospects were not hopeless, would he now forfeit his claims of meritorious service on the party grown all powerful, for fallen Charles, a

* Carte's Ormond.

prisoner with the Scotch rebels, whom he betrayed while at the head of an army? Was it, then, the settlement of Ireland? No peaceable settlement of the kingdom could answer the scope of his avarice and ambition. His forefathers laid the foundation of their fortunes in Irish troubles; which, by a repetition of the same, through torrents of blood, they raised to princely magnificence. Resolved to tread in their footsteps, and profit by the confusion of his country, he expected, from civil war and the harvest of forfeitures, such emolument and encrease of honours, as a quiet settlement would not give. - Knowing that such an event could not be far distant, as it must follow shortly after the settlement of England and Scotland, he resolved to profit of circumstances, and improve the interval for the advancement of his private schemes of aggrandizement. During this interval of suspense and anxiety, he knew it to be his interest to keep his station, and to shew the possibility of his coalescing with the confederates, and uniting the kingdom in formidable opposition to the parliamentarians; and that he could, if he chose, hold his situation, derived from the king's commission, independent of them, with the consent and aid of the Irish. That his affected attachment to the peace, and his hypocritical negotiations with the Irish, were mere political expedients, while he was negotiating with the parliament to betray his king and country, and to make the better bargain, appears from his advocates, Carte and Leland. "In these circumstances, the council

looked to the marquis of Ormond for support. They earnestly invited him to repair to Kilkenny, in order to assist them to maintain the peace against the violence of the nuncio, and to concert measures for checking the progress of lord Inchiquin, who over-ran the southern province, regardless of the orders of government, and in defiance of the proclamation of peace.

“ However desperate and deplorable the present situation of the king appeared, however impracticable the transportation of Irish forces, and however ineffectual, yet a peace was absolutely necessary to support even the name of royal authority in Ireland. A chief governour without forces, without money or provisions, threatened at once by the parliamentarians of Ulster, Connaught, and Munster, and by the catholics of these, and the remaining province, could subsist scarcely for a day. The kingdom must unavoidably be reduced by the king's enemies of Britain, or become the prey of some foreign power. His commission for concluding a peace with the confederates was determined by the peace already concluded: if this should not take place, there was no possibility of renewing a treaty for another. Ormond, therefore, readily accepted the invitation of the confederates. With a train of fifteen hundred foot, and five hundred horse, attended by the marquis of Clanricarde and lord Digby, he repaired to Kilkenny, and was received with such respect, and such abundant joy, as seemed to indicate a general disposition in the people to be again admitted into the

king's protection. But this gay prospect was soon clouded by disappointment and suspicion. Preston, on pretence of indisposition, refused to attend the lord lieutenant. An emissary he had dispatched to practise with Owen O'Nial, could not by the most magnificent offers detach him from the nuncio. The earl of Castlehaven was sent to this prelate and his clergy at Waterford, to dissuade them from their violent measures, and reconcile them to the peace. But he found them obstinate and inexorable; and was justly scandalized at the virulence of Rinunccini, who declared his firm purpose of opposing the peace to the utmost, and uttered "other expressions," saith the earl, "relative to blood, not becoming a churchman." To compose the tempers of the people, Ormond attempted some excursions into Munster; he prepared to march to Cashel; when one of his own kinsmen appeared in arms to oppose him; and the magistrate of this town assured him, that the utmost vengeance was denounced against the inhabitants, should they presume to give him admittance, and that O'Nial was on his march to execute these threats."

Ormond was not only necessitated to these compliances, for the support of his army, but undertook this cavalcade to Kilkenny, and sundry negotiations with the Irish, partly to divide them, and to display his own consequence, and the facility of encreasing it, to the commissioners from the English parliament, whose arrival he daily expected. Nor was it averse to the policy of the English parliament, that he should deceive

the king's friends in Ireland and abroad, by these sham negotiations, corresponding with the queen and prince of Wales, Glamorgan, &c. and to make such use of the king's name and authority, and the zeal of his friends, as might subserve their views, until they were ready to take possession of the kingdom. But he carefully avoided every thing that might offend parliament, however necessary for the settlement of the kingdom, or for demonstration of his sincere desire thereof. Of this he gave manifold proofs, by refusing the urgent requests of the confederates, to assume the command of their forces, and act in conjunction against the king's enemies. " They informed him that they had received intelligence that Monroe, with a numerous army, was going to fall upon Newry, Dundalk, and other maritime towns within his excellency's quarters; and that the Scots of Tyrconnel were gathering in a body of three thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to invade Connaught, where they were sure to be joined by Sir Charles Coote's forces. That if his excellency would agree, that they might, on all sides, fight to clear the kingdom of the common enemy, their councils in civil and military matters should be managed by his advice. And the council having understood that the want of money to prepare for the field, was what chiefly retarded this conjunction, they promised to send his excellency three thousand pounds; two thousand of which they soon after sent him."*

* Carte's Ormond.

But he obtained, through the medium of his friends, the Scotch rebels, from their captive monarch, an extorted command to his lieutenant, not to proceed farther in the treaty with the Irish.* Leland is agreed with Curry, concerning the solicitations of the confederates, ‘that he would take the command of their forces and join against the king’s enemies.’†

While Ormond amused the confederates, the queen and prince of Wales, with professions of loyalty, and attachment to the Irish peace, which he knew the king and confederates looked to as to their common palladium, he could, to extort supplies, throw out alarming hints of his being driven by despair to do, what he at that moment was secretly doing, to sell the king and country to the English parliament! “Ormond had just now received intelligence that the king had resigned himself to the Scottish army, an incident of such consequence as might require some change in his counsels and measures. He deliberated, and at length determined to return a spirited answer to the confederates. The necessity of union, he observed, was too apparent, but refused to unite with those who derived not their authority from the king. He was, however, ready to accept the assistance of any of the king’s subjects; and, on publication of the peace, might be more explicit. He could not admit, that they had been guilty of no failure in their stipulations; for, however it might have been impracticable to

* Currie, B. VII. c. iii.

† Leland, B. V. c. viii, p. 282. 283.

send their forces into England, yet the sums which they engaged to supply for the service of government, were not yet remitted. Glamorgan's articles had been disavowed by the king; he, therefore, could not admit the publication of them. He required, that they should consent explicitly to suppress them; and that the treaty of Dublin should be instantly published. If these overtures were not accepted, he declared, that the condition of his majesty's affairs in Dublin must soon force him to seek some other way of recovering and supporting his authority in Ireland."*

What a poor contemptible figure did this Irish junta make, to hear and bear such language from an insolent traitor, who could not support his station, or carry on his treason, a single week, without their toleration and support. Not treat with those who had not the king's authority! Did not the king's commission to him, and repeated orders, and even supplications, afterwards, to treat with them, and conclude a peace as soon as possible, equally authorize him. Did not Glamorgan's private commission authorize the same? In his majesty's present thralldom, captive with the Scotch rebels, he could give no orders, but what must be considered as extorted. The apology sent by Ormond to the king, for continuing the cessation, to which he was always an enemy, while it could serve his majesty; and which he now palliates, as being useful to the

* Leland.

rebels, on account of the distresses of English government in Ireland; and the impossibility of breaking it, and carrying on war against the Irish, without large supplies of men and money, was clearly intended not for the king, who wanted no apology for a favourite measure, but his keepers, the Scotch, and their masters, the English parliament; to justify his adopting, as a temporizing expedient, a measure so odious to them. Again, as if forgetful of his refusal to treat with men not authorized by the king, he shortly after, in the presence of lord Digby and the privy council, registered his protestation, that he was fully satisfied of his authority to conclude a peace, upon the articles deposited with the marquis of Clanrickarde in manuscript.

Ormond knew extremely well, the captive state of the king; and that all orders, coming from the Scotch army in his name, should be considered, not his, but their command; who were enemies to the peace, such as it was. This has been sufficiently proved by Curry.* But, had he received no such intimation, every man, not destitute of common sense, must have foreseen, that the Scots would have turned their possession of the king's person to their account; and make use of his name and authority in Ireland, the only part of his dominions where either was then respected. He promised himself many advantages from this truce. First, maintenance in his station; now become ambiguous, if not null and

* Curry, B. vii. c. 3.

void, by the captivity of the monarch, destitute as he was of any supply from England, unless he acknowledged himself the parliament's deputy, for which things were not as yet ripe. Neither was this the acceptable sacrifice. His services were to be of another kind; for the remuneration of which the contract was pending. Secondly, knowing the Irish to be divided on the question of this peace, he expected to widen the breach by its conclusion, and possibly to bring the parties to open warfare; to effect which he neglected no means.

Before we pursue Ormond through all the labyrinth of his tortuous politics, now negotiating with the Irish, then with the covenanters of Ulster; acting, ostensibly, as the king's deputy, in true earnest as the cringing slave of his enemies, until he surrendered Ireland, naked and divided, into their hands, we must review the conduct of the loyalists; and how far they contributed, by their divisions, their consequent tardiness, and half measures, to their own and country's ruin. To have the conception of their proceedings and their effects, it will be necessary to take a concise view of the different parties in the two islands, their views and expectations, when the rupture about the peace took place. The royal party, in the neighbouring island, was crushed; and the rebels triumphant. The king, reduced to desponding extremity, and deluded by the flattering invitations and promises of the Scotch rebels, surrendered himself into their hands; who kept him a close prisoner, with a

view of making the most of their prey. These were averse to either cessation of arms or peace in Ireland, for two reasons. First, it was only in times of trouble that they could turn possession of the king's person to account; and an Irish peace, accompanied with the utter overthrow of the royalists in England, by putting a period to the war, and, indeed, removing all pretences for its continuance, might lead to a settlement in both islands. Further, they had been promised the plunder and forfeitures of Ireland, by the English parliament; of both which lucrative objects, an Irish peace threatened to deprive them. The English parliament was an enemy to the settlement of Ireland, until they would settle it on a model of their own fashion. The king had left heirs, who would, of course, set up their claims to the throne; their pretensions might be supported by foreign powers, and Ireland, in its present state, a dangerous nest of royalists and loyalists, lay, as a convenient back door, to receive them, and furnish them with great resources and opportunities for invading England and Scotland. A great revolution in landed property appeared to them necessary. Vast forfeitures; the erection of a new landed interest; fresh plantations of colonists, armed and covenanters, to bridle a disarmed and depressed people, appeared the best and only means of obviating the danger from that quarter. Hence, 'tis plain, that, though they disliked not a temporary truce with the Irish, especially such as Ormond contrived, of a nature to divide them,

they would never ratify a peace, advantageous or satisfactory to the Irish; any, than left things there in their actual state. The king, since the battle of Naseby, looked on his cause at least extremely doubtful; and countermanded the sending of auxiliary troops from Ireland, a good while before his captivity; ordering Ormond, nevertheless, to conclude the peace with the Irish. His Scotch subjects, having deceived him by their fallacious promises of restoring him to to his rights, either by treaty or by force, he saw no asylum for himself or his family, but in the loyalty of the Irish. There he might expect such succour from foreign powers, interested to support the cause of royalty, and chastise an example of rebellion in subjects, as might enable him to reconquer his other kingdoms; or, at worst, protect his throne in one. He found some means of conveying his wishes to the nuncio and Glamorgan, who were plotting to devise some means of effecting his escape from the Scotch to the Irish; but they were frustrated.

From this brief statement of parties, a statement which all authorities of all parties justify, the reader will perceive, that the opposers of the so called peace of 1646, are not dealt fairly with, in any writings, that I could see. That writers of the regicide party would cry down the Irish in general, would be as natural to expect, as that the republican writers of France would calumniate the royalists of la Vendée. That English and Anglo-Irish writers should vilify the original inhabitants of this country, victims of their op-

pression and plunder, is just as consistent as the accounts given by the Spanish adventurers, under Cortez and Pizarro, of the aboriginal South-Americans; 'that they were not of the race of Adam, and could scarcely be reckoned among the varieties of the human race.' That the compound malignity of anglicism and protestant bigotry, would fasten on Irish papists; a people insulated from the intercourse of mankind, by a heavy foreign yoke, excluding them from general intercourse, converting the sea that girds their isle into the wall of their prison; as a proper subject on which to vent all the foul aspersions which prejudice or malice could suggest, for the double purpose of indulging a national aversion to a people, who are hated and despised, because oppressed and ruined; and by gratifying their lust for defaming the catholic church, by caricaturing a limb thereof, remote from the inspection of the literary world, abject, unprotected, and often driven to excesses by the cruelties of their defamers; the misrepresentations and exaggerations of these turmoils, almost always raised by the perfidious policy of their task-masters, divulged to Europe with the strongest varnish, greedily seized on by foreign protestants, as demonstrations of the inhuman spirit of popery, might be expected, as the kindred foetus of sectarian animosity. This inhuman, irreligious passion, has an undistinguishing voracious appetite for every odious, abominable crimination, that a delirious spirit, or depraved heart, can invent, to soothe or delude preconceived prejudices. So far

as the infirmities of human nature are concerned, catholics, who partake of these in common with the rest of the world, are liable to be duped, by prejudice or malignity, into a credulous reception of slanderous tales, fabricated against those who dissent from them. In the indulgence of such uncharitable belief, they are less excusable; because, as the principles of their religion are concerned, they have not an equal or similar impulse to malevolent credulity. Conformably to their system, their faith rests on its own proper foundation; divine authority revealing and continuing it, unimpaired and unaltered, as a beacon and standard for all nations and ages. It leans not for support or apology on detecting or exposing the errors or crimes of sects. In its whole superstructure, as well as foundation, it is utterly independent of them; and promises itself, on grounds not inconsistent, duration and extent, to which the inconsistent contradictory principles of all other sects forbid them to aspire. Resting on these solid foundations, the catholic would degrade his religion, by resorting to controversial chicanery, false witnesses, or testimony. These low shifts of litigious fraud, should be left to plaintiffs and defendants in a bad cause. To such people, false witnesses, forged deeds, bribery and perjury, will be congenial associates. Those, whose sole titles are in fraudulent or forcible possession; who can bring no better apology for the illegality and violence of their proceedings, than the crimes and errors, real or fictitious, of the legal preoccupants, are unavoidably subject

to a suspicion of yielding to strong temptations, to impute crimes and errors of their own invention; to exaggerate the ill, and conceal or depreciate the good. That a reverend gentleman of the established church should daub, with a heavy pen, the national character of the Irish. That the epithets, rude, barbarous, uncivilized, bigoted, ignorant, illiterate, odious, detested race, should be concomitant with their name in his pages, is no deviation from the liberal philanthropy of our masters. That he should draw an invidious portrait of the ambition, avarice, pride and tyranny of the Irish popish ecclesiastics, would be only verifying the adage, that 'two of a trade cannot agree;' especially if a new branch of trade is set up, to cry down the old ware as trumpery, and boast of its new invented colifichets with mountebank assurance.

There can no reason be assigned, why catholicity had not as equitable a claim for establishment in Ireland, as episcopalian and presbyterian protestantism in England. The idea of the nuncio need not appear so very strange. By the abolition of monarchy, the only constitutional link, binding the two kingdoms, was broke; and the nuncio's idea would have a fair chance of being realized, by any other people, who were not distracted by division and jealousies. But the owners of the estates forfeited from the antient Irish, sat in the assembly of Kilkenny, clinging to English connexion, on any terms of humiliation and bondage, as the fancied security for retaining possession; little foreseeing, that they

were only keepers on them, until swarms of fresh adventurers would come to demand and seize them. Doctor Currie, in his Review, though a diligent enquirer and lover of truth, was carried along with the torrent of writers, to join in censuring the proceedings of the nuncio, the Irish clergy, and other opposers of that peace. Yet he sets down some arguments, brought forward by them, of considerable weight. After submitting those authorities, the question shall be discussed.

“ The nuncio Renuccini, and general Owen O’Nial, absolutely refused to submit it; the former, because there was no provision made for the free exercise of the catholic religion; without which the confederates were engaged by their oath of association, never to conclude a peace; and the latter, on the same account, as well as that no stipulation was made for restoring him, and his numerous followers, to their forfeited estates in Ulster. The nuncio alleged besides, that the commissioners who had concluded the peace, did not, according to their instructions, insist upon the repeal of the penal statutes against the Roman catholic religion. The marquis of Ormond could not deny the fact; but he maintained “ that the peace which the confederates’ commissioners had concluded, by virtue of an authority derived from their general assembly, whether advantageous or prejudicial to those that trusted them, ought to have been inviolably stuck to, how blame-worthy soever they might be pretended, for transgressing instructions.”

This manner of reasoning, however, seems to have been taken up by his excellency, only for present convenience; for he argued very differently on the same topic of instructions, when, in a former treaty with the confederates, the case was to be his own; and when, in order to justify his rejecting some of their propositions, he told them, “that if he had exceeded his instructions, he would have deluded those he treated with, with the shadow of concessions; for that the substance would be lost, by his transgressing the rules given him, in any one particular.”

“But however that might have been, the nuncio’s casuistry differed materially from that of his excellency on this occasion; and therefore that prelate resolved to enforce his opinion by such means as, it appears, he had neither commission nor instructions to pursue. For, having called together, at Waterford, such of the Irish bishops and other clergy, as were mostly under his influence, on pretence of forming a synod to settle ecclesiastical matters, they entered all at once on a debate concerning the lawfulness of the late peace; and having soon determined, that all those who were instrumental in making it, were, for the reasons before-mentioned, guilty of a formal breach of their association, they issued an excommunication against them; as also against those of their communion who should afterwards adhere to it; forbidding, under the same penalty, any public dues to be collected by, or paid to such persons as were formerly appointed to receive them; and giving encouragement, at the same

time, to the people to resist any force that might be used for that purpose.”*

The reason of the nuncio, against the peace, was not refuted; that the commissioners departed widely from their instructions; on which account the assembly was not obliged to ratify it. The reasons urged to the queen, in a letter from the archbishops of Dublin, Cashel, and the bishops of Elphin, in the name of the congregation of the clergy, were quite sufficient to damn the treaty; “That all was left to the pleasure of the king, surrounded by their sworn enemies!!” What worse could be dictated by a conqueror to a prostrate people? It was hard to surrender their rights, civil or religious, to the pleasure of any man; especially a prince of a different religion, not noted for keeping his word, or even his oath, and under the controul of their sworn enemies; and all this headlong slavery rushed into, by the very men, who, on taking up arms, swore never to lay them down, until they obtained a full ratification of their rights. The argument of the confederates, to reconcile the clergy to the omission of the articles, in the delusive treaty, were extremely futile. They refer to the private treaty of Glamorgan; which the king publicly disavowed, in a message to both houses; and which, together with Glamorgan, his SECRET ambassador, he would consider a slight sacrifice towards an accommodation with his now victorious enemies. If William was, though the victorious de-

* Belling's MSS. Carte's Ormond.

liverer of the English, obliged to give up to their selfishness, and national hatred of the Irish, the treaty of Limerick, can it be imagined, that a subdued monarch, captive, in the hands of his irritated and triumphant subjects, could stickle for private engagements, made with a people odious to them; whom, at any rate, they were resolved to crush? Equally, or more absurd, to refer to concessions, which the king might make hereafter. The king's restoration could reasonably be expected but by the sword, or accommodation. If by the former, of which there was not the slightest probability, he would become an absolute monarch; and what use he might make of unlimited power, they might conjecture, from his having plundered the Irish, for many years, by his tyrannic inquisition into pretended defective titles. If the latter, the Irish must be given up to their sworn enemies. No private engagements would be acknowledged; no public treaties held binding.

The defeat of the confederates was not owing to the spiritual weapons of the clergy, but to the carnal weapons of their enemies. The assaults on religion, persons and property, produced the confederation; the pretended peace produced the rupture, for which it was intended, and which purpose alone it could serve, at that time, and in that form. A peace, which was made contrary to instructions; which surrendered every article, for the recovery and security of which the confederation was formed; and which they were bound by the solemn oath of association not to relin-

quish; and which to abandon, independent of said oath, would be mean and dastardly, unless excused by the extreme of necessity. A peace, which none but a proud conqueror, or impudent impostor, could present; and which, in their circumstances, none of the Irish could hail, except those settlers, whose souls were fettered and manacled by the panic alarm of claims on forfeited lands, and dead to every feeling of honour, religion and patriotism. A peace, as insecure as it was degrading, shameful and treasonable; against the country, without a guarantee for the performance of the wretched contract. Granted, then, that the said imposition had been generally submitted to, by the confederates; what mighty benefits would accrue to the king and country therefrom? would it liberate the king from the Scots, and place him on the throne? It was then too late to think of such romantic exploits. Their forces, were they even not divided, were not adequate to the conquest of England and Scotland; and they had not shipping, to convey or defend them on their passage. Neither France or Spain gave any countenance to favour such a bold attempt; on the contrary, they held correspondence with the rebel parliament. Would it secure the inhabitants in their religious or civil liberty? The former was absolutely given up; and persecution was sanctioned, as toleration was not so much as mentioned in a public treaty, between the persecuted and the persecutor. For the latter, there was no satisfactory voucher. The king could not sign it; and, if he could, his signature

was no pledge, as observed before. He could disavow one treaty, as he did another. He could violate his word; as he did more than once his oath. And how could the confederates expect, that one would fulfill his engagement with them, who broke their solemn engagements, by assenting to so ruinous and vile a measure? Further, the king's signature would be nothing, without the approbation of parliament; a body sworn to extirpation of popery and Irishmen. Where the voucher then? Ormond. What! The puritanic betrayer of his trust; the constant defaulter in all his dealings with the Irish; the partizan and creature of the covenanters. Their sanguinary and perfidious instrument; slaughtering and plundering his countrymen, with whom he never treated but to deceive; never kept a treaty, but during convenience: the obstinate foe of the cessation, and of real, solid peace, until the period was elapsed when they might naturally benefit king and country; and who, at length, filled up the measure of his treasons, by delivering up the executive power, together with his majesty's castles, troops, stores, and the capital of the kingdom, to the mortal enemies of the king, and of the Irish. What would any treaty avail, with a remorseless tyrant, and arrant impostor; who, while publicly mocking the confederates with feigned negotiation, was privately contracting with the rebel covenanters of Ulster, and other parts, to fall on them; and was, during his sham parleying, committing waste and havoc in different parts of the country; to prove to his

real masters, the Westminster rebels, that negotiation gave the Irish no respite from the calamities of war? Had that peace been generally submitted to, and he, and his treasonable packed junta, misnamed Irish parliament, been authorized to levy taxes and troops, it was not difficult to divine for whose service. The English parliament was surrounded by a horde of greedy expectants, raised by the rebellion and revolution, thirsting for Irish blood and forfeitures, like hungry wolves. These must be satisfied, and a revolutionary interest established, through confiscations and new plantations. Ormond's appetite was as keen as any of theirs, for the spoils of his countrymen; as the sequel proved, in the pains he took to recommend his interests to the English parliament, and to earn the solicited remuneration, by strenuously co-operating with their plans. His reward did not fall short of his services to them, or their promise to him; which was punctually awarded by the son of Charles; who acted as if he accepted the crown on such a compact, as passed between the Roman triumvirate, to proscribe his zealous partizans, and perfect all the engagements of the regicide faction, by rewarding their creatures with the forfeitures of the oppressed loyalists. The marquis became duke of Ormond, count palatine of Tipperary, with full jurisdiction and royalties in that county; had all his debts discharged, and large accessions to his ample patrimony; and, to make this *bonne bouche* the more relishing, his character was screened from public detestation,

by attributing these royal grants not to the real source, his services to the enemies of king and country, but as the meet of pretended loyalty, and services to both. Had the viceroy even been a good man, loyal subject, and true patriot, the treaty was inadmissable; as being unjust, insecure and injurious. It was unjust; because it sacrificed the religious interests of the nation, and the temporal interests of a great and meritorious part, to the imaginary safety of the leading settlers. It was insecure, as aforesaid; destitute of pledge or guarantee of any kind. The word of a viceroy, though of the strictest honour, was no guarantee for a transaction, that involved the dearest interests of posterity; because his performance of articles could not extend beyond his stay in office, from which he might be removed by death; and would, assuredly, by an order from England, if detected in favouring the Irish, or administering partial justice.

What, then, were the bad consequences, proceeding from the conduct of the nuncio and the Irish clergy? Was it the ruin of the king? Those, who opposed the treaty, as dishonourable, injurious and unstable, warmly recommended the sending of reinforcements to the king, independently of any treaty. But, indeed, the period was elapsed, when the confederates might interfere for the king with effect. For, after the forces were stationed on the coast, ready to embark, and delayed only by want of shipping to carry them across, a few ships at length arriving, the king, whether from humanity, policy, or both, forbade

the embarkation; as now too late for his succour in England, and only precipitating so many brave fellows into the devouring jaws of destruction, without any advantage to Ireland, or its unhappy sovereign. Did they injure Ireland? By no means. The advocates of that dishonourable, ruinous peace, did inflict a mortal wound; because they were the sole causes of the breach. The plan of the nuncio and the clergy was, for the salvation of Ireland; their opponents planned its downfall; not designedly, let us suppose, but what lead to it, in its inevitable consequences. The nuncio, and the Irish clergy, insisted on an honourable peace; such as might be well received and abetted by the whole nation: a treaty, that would be approved by the head of the church, and other catholic potentates, able and willing to assist the Irish, if they saw them sincere and earnest, in their endeavours to support the cause of royalty and popery. The abandonment of one of these, in a public treaty; and that considered, in an age of bigotry, the most important, was enough to damn the Irish cause with the catholic powers of Europe; who must consider their dereliction of their just demand of a claim to the toleration of the catholic faith, in a solemn treaty, while they were craving the aid of catholic princes for the maintenance of their church, as egregious folly, downright impudence. If they had Glamorgan's secret treaty, to accompany their supplications to the head of the catholic church, and other catholic powers, there would have been some appearance of consistency; but

the king's public disavowal despoiled it even of that colour. Had the nuncio been here, before the fatal battle of Naseby; had he, and the Irish clergy, opposed a peace, when that measure would have relieved the king; when the rebel parliament, the rebel covenanters, of England, Ireland and Scotland, opposed it; when the traitorous viceroy opposed it, for rebellious purposes; they might then be fairly censured. But the nuncio arrived at Kilkenny a month after the battle of Naseby; and the discussion on the conditions of peace were delayed, by the artifice of Ormond, to the spring of 1646, when any decision must prove inefficient to the main purpose.

Those, who are so hasty to reprove the Irish clergy, for insisting on the confederates to keep to their oath of association, and accept no peace; that did not include the toleration of the catholic faith, seem neither guided by candour or love of truth. They should first prove, that the clergy stepped beyond the limits of their office; and, secondly, required impracticable terms. Neither can be proved. 'Tis hard to prove, that it is foreign to the character of a clergyman to procure toleration for his flock; or that the Irish were then incompetent to obtain it, if unanimous in the demand. Let the clergy of the opposite parties be compared. In England and Scotland, the pulpit thundered treason, sedition, persecution; in the words of Hudibras, 'pulpit, drum ecclesiastic, was smote with fist, instead of a stick.'

No writer has ventured to condemn the opposition of O'Neil to that dishonourable treaty.

With what colour could they? At a time when England and Scotland were in arms for their privileges; and the Irish confederates contending for their civil and religious liberties; was it for the brave Ultonians to relinquish their claims to their patrimonial estates, swindled from them. Let it be conceded, which is not true, that O'Neil and O'Donnel did plot; why should their plot implicate the whole nobility and gentry of Ulster? Wherefore should they be attainted, and despoiled of their properties without trial, or conviction of any participation in such plot. If the flight of the earls was taken as presumptive proof of guilt; why not the residence of the remainder, as presumptive proof of innocence? Why not brought to trial? The Ultonians could not, and ought not, approve of any treaty, that did not stipulate an entire restitution of their patrimonial estates. Here was the blow. The majority of the assembly were possessed of forfeited lands. Restitution to Rineal Ruin would encourage other claims; consequently, civil war; of which the Ormondists and advocates of that scandalous treaty were the real promoters, not the Irish clergy, or the disinherited Milesians of Ulster.

About the end of May, 1646, Owen O'Nial assembled near 5000 foot, and 500 horse, and advanced towards Armagh, Monroe, the Scottish general drew out 6000 foot and 800 horse; and, "by a forced march, arrived by midnight at Armagh, in order to surprize O'Nial in his quarters. Here he learned, that the Irish army lay seven miles further, at a place called Benburb,

strongly posted between two hills, with a wood behind, and on their right the river Blackwater, thought difficult to be passed. On the next morning, Monroe marched on the other side of the river, in full view of O’Nial, to meet a considerable reinforcement which he expected; when, finding a ford unexpectedly, he crossed the river, and advanced on the Irish. Each army was drawn up in order of battle; but, instead of coming to a general engagement, the Irish general contrived to waste the day, and amuse the enemy with skirmishes. The sun, which had been favourable to the Scots, was now declining on the back of his army. A detachment which he had sent to oppose the troops expected by Monroe, had been foiled in the attempt, and now hastened to join the main body. Monroe was alarmed at seeing the enemy reinforced by a considerable troop, which, as they advanced, he had mistaken for his own men. He prepared to retreat, and in that moment was furiously attacked by the Irish, in full confidence of victory. An English regiment, commanded by lord Blaney, maintained their ground, till he and most of his men were cut to pieces. The Scottish cavalry was soon broken, cast the foot into disorder, and produced a general rout. More than three thousand of the British forces were slain on the field of battle, with the loss only of seventy killed on the part of the Irish. The Scots’ artillery, most of their arms, tents, and baggage, a great quantity of booty and provisions were taken. Monroe fled with the utmost precipitation, abandoned several

posts of strength, summoned the whole northern province to take arms against the victorious Irish, was vigorously pursued, and Ulster on the point of being entirely reduced by O'Nial, when this general was suddenly called by the nuncio into Leinster to oppose the peace."*

If any wish to know the reasons of my opposition to all the printed war that fell under my observation, in defence of Owen Roe O'Nial, the pope's nuncio, and the Irish clergy, it is, because truth was on their side. They, too, wished for a peace; but it was for a real, solid, guaranteed peace. It was not a shameful contract, surrendering the independence of the country; sanctioning, by silence, the detestable penal code. Where was the competent authority to sanction that treaty? Was it the soi-disant viceroy? O'Neil was well informed of his treasonable correspondence with the covenanters and the English parliament. How could he rely on any articles with such a traitor! Well. Was he to be satisfied with the signature of a fallen, captive monarch? Indeed if the English parliament, if Oliver Cromwell, were to guarantee the peace, there might be some security, bad as it was. What, then, should have been done, at that crisis? Any thing but what was done. Any thing but what the distraction of divided counsel drove them to. Precious years, not to be recovered, lost in fruitless negotiations. Half measures, that never avail in a critical emergency. There was

* Ireland, Vol. III. B. V. c. vii. p. 290. 291.

but the alternative. When they began to treat with Charles, they should have fought. Had they unconditionally assisted him with their whole energy; had they appointed Owen Roe commander in chief of the expedition; there was every moral probability, that the rebellion of England and Scotland would have been suppressed. The consequence to Ireland, an advantage; an absolute monarch. Such a monarch would be in a situation to treat his subjects of both islands with an impartial hand. He would not be confined by local prejudices, or partial interests, to deal with one, as a favourite, caressed child; and oppress the other, as a vile, contemptible slave. He would have no motive to concentrate all branches of industry and commerce, in one department of his empire, to the exclusion and impoverishment of the remainder. He could be induced by no envy or jealousy, to deprive any of the bounties that God and nature left within their reach; nor to glut one part with a monopoly of all good things, and make the rest turf cutters and potatoe diggers. He could make a tour of the two islands, and acquire some knowledge of the produce, manufactures and inhabitants, the better to manage their affairs. Am I pleading for absolute power. Nothing is good or complete, but one. Every thing else is only relatively so. The theory of freedom is pretty enough; but it must be fitted to circumstances to be tolerable. Don Quixote found to his cost, the danger of emancipating galley slaves; and a free constitution requires, for its support, more

of virtue and piety, than any nation as yet has been able to preserve for a long lapse of time. The duration of the republican form has not, at least in purity, exceeded four hundred years; and the boasted constitution of England remained in full vigour little more than half a century. The efficient controul on the executive, was not limited to opposition in parliament; but had its chief focus in the pretensions of the exiled family. When they and their party were extinct, the executive obeyed its instinctive movement towards uncontrouled authority. The first grand essay was made on the American colonies; which failed. The second on Ireland, which succeeded; and gave a positive instance in the success of the executive, whenever it comes to be tried, that Europe will resemble Asia, ruled by military governments. Had the Irish confederates chosen the other alternative; and, like the English revolutionists, placed the crown on the head of some potent foreign prince, they would have acted wisely for their party; but they kept angling with the duke of Lorrain, contorting about terms, until they gave up their cause to the ruin that followed.

While the confederates were busied in the formation of a new general assembly, and a new executive government, of which Rinuncini, the nuncio, was president, Ormond was carrying on his treasonable designs with the covenanters of Ulster, and the English parliament; inviting over their forces, with a promise of surrendering the royalty into their hands. He also contrived to

now distrust and jealousy between the generals O’Nial and Preston; which proved fatal to their cause. Ormond now follows up his treaty with the English parliament; to which, on the 26th of September, 1646, he sent the following propositions; the third of which sufficiently condemns the abettors of the sham peace.

1st. “ That the said lord lieutenant will prosecute the war against the Irish rebels, as vigorously as he shall be enabled thereunto by the parliament of England, and that he will faithfully serve the crown of England therein;” against which the parliament was then in open rebellion.

2d. “ That whilst he hath the government of this kingdom, and the command of the armies therein, none of the supplies of men, money, arms, ammunition, victuals, or any other provisions of what kind or nature soever, which shall, by the parliament of England, be sent over, or joined with the forces already under his command, nor any other forces that shall be under his command, shall in any wise be employed either within this kingdom or without it, but by the express direction of the said parliament of England.

3d. “ That he will not, upon any command, or by virtue of any power or authority whatsoever, enter into any treaty with the said Irish rebels, or conclude any peace or cessation with them, without the consent and express command of the king and parliament of England.” A favourite expression, at that time, with those who in the king’s name fought against his person.

4th. "He will engage himself to the true performance of all these things, by oath, or any other means that can be proposed to a man of honour and conscience."

"On the 14th of November 1646, commissioners from the English parliament arrived in Dublin, with men, ammunition, and provisions of all kinds; who seeing the weakness of the place, and knowing his excellency stood in need of every thing necessary for its defence, made no doubt of his receiving the supplies they had brought upon any terms. The lord lieutenant expected the commissioners had brought specific answers to the propositions which he had sent to England; but they had brought no such answers, nor any instructions about them. And when he offered them a copy of the propositions, they would not receive it, nor enter into any debate upon the subject; their instructions confined them to treat only for the sword and garrisons; for which they offered to take the protestants of Ireland under their protection, on condition of their submitting to the ordinances of parliament. But no protestant, that would not renounce his allegiance to the king, could depend upon that protection for his security. His lordship, on his part, proposed, until their instructions from the parliament could be enlarged, to distribute their forces into his garrisons, if they would submit to his orders, and to martial law, and if they would lend him three thousand pounds to support the army; but these proposals were refused. So resolving to break off the treaty, his excellency

told them, that he could not, consistent with his duty, part with so great a trust, without his majesty's command, and asked them, whether they could produce it? But the commissioners wondering, with good reason, that he should expect any such authority from them, embarked on board their ships, with all their men, whom they carried into Ulster."*

To gain time with this divided, distracted people, the crafty Ormond contrived to amuse them with delusive negotiations. To work on general Preston, and his officers, he employed the marquis of Clanrickard, and lord Digby, with fair promises, never meant to be kept; solely to detach him from the nuncio's party, and save himself from the joint attack of the Irish forces, then advanced towards Dublin, until he could finish his treaty with the parliament. He must have been a political knave of considerable ability, to deceive the royalists, both of England and Ireland, and to continue the deception with such address, as to be a principal instrument in defeating them. In concert with lord Digby, he entered into a new but secret treaty with the confederates, to dispossess the parliamentary forces, to which they readily agreed; and then "dispatched immediate orders to general Preston to march his whole army, consisting of between seven and eight thousand men, into the English quarters; which he accordingly did, took Naas and Maynooth, by assault; and afterwards sat

* Carte's Ormond.

down before Trim; where, being attacked by Michael Jones, with superior forces, from Dublin, he was totally defeated; having had four thousand men killed on the place, and almost all his commanders taken prisoners, himself hardly escaping.”*

After thus wheedling and engaging Preston to go to war singly with the parliamentarians, to the overthrow and derout of his whole army, Ormond resumed his treaty with the parliament, offering to put his majesty's garrisons into their hands, upon the same conditions they had formerly proposed; which,” as we have already observed from Mr. Carte, “no protestant could accept without forfeiting his allegiance.” And in order to induce them, for the present, to give him the command of some of their men, provisions, and ammunition in Ulster, till they could send him more, he promised to deliver hostages for the performance of what he had undertaken; and accordingly, on the 16th of March, 1647, he sent over as such, the earl of Roscommon, colonel Chichester, Sir James Ware, and Sir Richard Butler, afterwards earl of Arran, one of his own sons.” On their arrival in England, one thousand English foot, and four hundred horse, were ordered to march out of Ulster to Dublin; and on the 7th of June following, the parliament commissioners arriving with six hundred horse, and fourteen hundred foot more, the treaty between them, and the marquis of Ormond,

* Carte's Ormond.

“ was concluded, and signed on the 19th of that month; by which his excellency was to quit the sword, on the 28th of the following month, or sooner, upon four days notice.” Thus did his lordship deliver up the king’s authority to men, who soon after became, as he himself has described them, “ murderers of his royal person, usurpers of his rights, and destroyers of the Irish nation; by whom the nobility and gentry of it were massacred at home, and led into slavery, or driven into beggary abroad.”*

“ On the 28th of June, 1647, five days after the treaty with the parliament was signed, the parliament commissioners published an order, requiring all ministers of congregations, and others officiating in the several churches and chapels in Dublin, to observe the directory, and for the discontinuance of the liturgy and common prayer; although the act of uniformity was still in force in Ireland, and not so much as suspended by any order of either, or both houses of parliament. Accordingly, the established clergy ceased to officiate, and the liturgy was left off in the churches in the city, except that of Trinity-college, where Antony Martin, bishop of Meath, and provost of that college, continued to use it.”

“ The protestant clergy of the city of Dublin, in their petition to the parliament commissioners on this occasion, “ pray that, in pity and compassion to the protestants of Dublin and to themselves, who were else, by their conjunction, in

* Carle’s Ormond.

danger of being exposed to banishment, loss of estate, and present subsistence, with their wives and families, they would restore them to their churches, till such time as further order be taken by the convocation of the clergy, and an act of parliament, in Ireland.”* But in vain.

The state of Ireland, as given by Leland, is a true, but dismal picture, of a ruined, falling people: “harrassed by different armies, different factions, various pretenders to power and authority; wasted by war, oppressed by poverty, the nation seemed ready to sink under its complicated miseries;” but much more by the wicked policy of that faithless lieutenant, using every artifice, and abusing the name and authority of the king, his betrayed master, to divide the confederates, ripe for division, through the successful policy of England; expelling or destroying the natives, and planting English colonies on their ruins.

The eye is fatigued with the eternal recurrence of the name of Ormond in every page of the writers on this period. He is here and there, and every where; negotiating with confederates; with Scots covenanters; with the parliament of England; with the fugitive queen and prince of Wales. In this labour to exhibit his loyalty and wisdom, we meet no facts to prove either honest wisdom in council, or generalship in the field. In his treaty with the English parliament, for surrendering the government of Ireland, he shews attention enough to his own interests; as he dis-

* Borl. Hist. Irish Reb.

covered, not mere indifference, but an hostile mind, to the interests of Ireland. “ Digby, after strongly advising Ormond, that, on quitting the kingdom, he should have liberty from the parliament commissioners to carry off with him five thousand five hundred men, to any other kingdom in amity with England, adds, “ that he ought to value that condition above all the others, not only as most honourable, but far more profitable to him, than if they should give him five times the sum they offered, but that if the parliament would not give him such conditions, then he conceived Ormond’s course must be, by temporizing with the Irish, renewing other treaties with the parliament upon lower conditions; in fine, by any art to prolong his possession of the garrison and forces, till he (Digby) could procure him shipping and money for the said transportation. And then, let who will take the carcass of what you shall leave.” In a letter to Ormond, July 17th, 1647, Digby states, “ if he can have liberty to negotiate in the Irish quarters, that he is not more confident of any thing in the world, than that he can demonstrate to these commissioners, that in a month’s time, the Irish shall be more broken, and weakened by art, than they can hope to do with twelve month’s war.”*

Here we see, Digby and he were scheming what profits they could make by the transportation of Irishmen into foreign service. The expression of Digby is very remarkable, “ that if

* Carte’s Ormond.

he can have liberty to negotiate in the Irish quarters, he is not more confident of any thing in this world, than that he can demonstrate to the commissioners, that in a month's time, the Irish shall be more broken and weakened by art, than they can hope to do with twelve month's war." This was, to be sure, an honourable employment for his majesty's chief secretary of state! This was the same lord Digby, employed by Ormond to use his artful negotiation with the confederates, and with general Preston to divide them on the phantom of cessation; opposed obstinately by Ormond, while it was no phantom, but a measure of vital importance to the king and country; and then only insisted on, when it answered no other purpose, but that of serving the parliament, by dividing the Irish. It was by this man's counsels, division and jealousy arose between O'Neil and Preston; and that the siege of Dublin was raised when the lieutenant was ill provided with means of defence. He requested, therefore, of his help-mate Ormond, as one well acquainted with his merits, as spy and incendiary, to recommend him to the commissioners of the English parliament in that quality. It is not recorded that his request was granted; and it is likely, the loyal man, to whom he applied, would rather reserve to his own arts, the honour of breaking the Irish by negotiation and intrigue; and thus ingratiate himself with the new rulers of Britain. We may suppose he did not surrender the castle and garrisons, until he received the five thousand pounds in hand, earnest for the rest of the stipulated price.

Weak apologies have been made for this criminal treachery, which is well refuted by some Irish writers. "First, his majesty's verbal order, or at least, permission, privately sent him for that purpose by Sir George Hamilton. And secondly, a design of the confederate catholics, then newly discovered, to transfer their allegiance from their natural sovereign to some foreign prince. The former of these reasons, I shall prove to be groundless, from his lordship's own words; the latter has been always denied by the accused, nor ever yet, in any manner proved by their accusers, though frequently called upon for that purpose.

Mr. Belling, one of the marquis of Ormond's earliest, warmest, and most intelligent apologists, owns, "that this surrender of Dublin, and the other garrisons, did indeed pave the way, not only to the destruction of the people of Ireland, but also to the king's murder in England." But he, at the same time, insists, "that his majesty had sent the lord lieutenant, by Sir George Hamilton, private orders to make it." The same is affirmed by Clarendon, Hume, Carte, and generally by all succeeding writers on this subject.* But the marquis of Ormond himself, in all his letters to the queen and prince, at that juncture,

* Doctor Leland has made a proper distinction on this occasion. "Ormond," says he, "was assured his majesty had signified his pleasure, that in case of extreme necessity, he should submit rather to the English than the Irish. The king's private letters afforded Ormond abundant reason to doubt the truth of these assurances; yet they (the assurances) served to justify the resolution he had now taken to the public."—Hist. of Ireland, vol. iii: p. 307.

not only apologizes, with great submission, for this surrender, (which certainly he would not have done, had he received the king's order or permission for it) but also, in that long and laboured state of the affairs of Ireland, which he afterwards laid before the king himself, he represents "that act of his, as done on presumption, that it was more for his majesty's honour and service, and consequently more agreeable to his pleasure, which he had neither means nor time to consult.

"But the following letter from his lordship to the king, which was sent soon after he resigned the government, leaves not the least room to doubt the falsity of this assertion.

"May it please your majesty, I know not how my last actions, or present condition, have been represented to your majesty; the latter your majesty finds in the public articles with the parliament commissioners; but upon what grounds, or advices, these articles were agreed to, I must reserve for a time, when by the grace of God, and your majesty's good pleasure, I shall be admitted to cast myself at your feet. I should, in the mean time, beg the suspension of any thought, that may be suggested into, or arise in your majesty, in prejudice to those sincere affections, wherewith I have endeavoured to serve you. But that were to misdoubt your justice, and so to make myself unworthy of your pardon, if deprived of your directions to guide me, I have erred in the way to your service."

"Sir George Hamilton was so far from

bringing such private orders from the king, that he did not even see his majesty on that occasion; for although his lordship had sent him to wait on the king for some purpose, yet he tells us himself, “ that Sir George fell sick at Dundalk, and that, hearing there of the resolution taken by the parliament of Scotland, and by their army, to deliver him up to the two houses of parliament, he proceeded no further in his journey, but returned, with that sad assurance to Trim, where the marquis then was.”

To the second reason assigned for this surrender, viz. The discovery of a design of the confederate catholics at that juncture, to transfer their allegiance to a foreign prince. Their answer always was, that they never entertained such a design; and that the only application made by them, for obtaining the aid and assistance of any foreign power, was subsequent to,* and occasioned by, this surrender of Dublin and the other garrisons to the English rebels. For thus they related that transaction, when it was first objected against them, appealing for the truth of their relation, to their assembly's instructions concerning it, which were then in the hands of their enemies.

“ The power of those who were in arms in England against the king, was,” said they, “ in the year 1647, considerable in Ireland; they being then free from any opposition in the former

* This appears plainly from the date of the instructions which the confederate catholics at Kilkenny gave to their agents on that occasion.

kingdom, and at entire liberty to dispose of their forces for carrying on their designs in the latter. Wherefore the confederate catholics, perceiving the danger they were in, met in the winter of that year in a general assembly at Kilkenny, where they took into consideration, that his majesty was in restraint; that all addresses to him were forbidden; and that some members of parliament, who spoke in his favour, were expelled.

“ In that sad extremity, there being no access to his majesty for imploring either his justice or mercy, all laws, human and divine, did allow the said catholics to take some other course, in order to their defence and preservation; not against his sacred majesty, but against those who had laid violent hands on his person, who designed to abolish the royal authority, and resolved to destroy or extirpate the said catholics.

“ These catholics, therefore, in January 1647, did, in the said assembly, conclude, that the marquis of Antrim, lord viscount Muskerry, and Geoffry Browne, Esq. should be employed into France; the bishop of Ferns and Nicholas Plunkett, Esquire, to Rome; and some others to Spain. Those sent to France were by their application to the prince of Wales and the queen, to declare the danger the said catholics apprehended, and humbly to beseech them to find out some expedient, by which these dangers might be averted. They were likewise commissioned, in case of absolute necessity, to implore the aid and protection of some foreign prince; but they were limited not to act any thing, in order to such

foreign protection, but by the direction of those persons who were employed to receive his majesty's commands. Upon the said application made to his majesty, through the queen and prince, the marquis of Ormond's commission was afterwards renewed, and his excellency qualified with power to conclude a peace with the said catholics. Whereupon all further proceedings, concerning the protection of any foreigner, were stopt, and the agents recalled; neither they, nor any of them, having either moved or acted any thing further, relating to the protection of any foreign power. Those agents who were employed to Rome, did, on their return in 1648, before the general assembly then sitting, give such an account of their negociation, that it encouraged the assembly to hasten the conclusion of the peace with the marquis of Ormond, then in agitation.

“ And the said catholics are so conscious to themselves of the resolution they took, from the beginning, to persevere irremoveably faithful, through all extremities, to his majesty's interests, that they are well assured, though those who possess their estates, have now the books of said general assembly in their hands; yet can they not make it appear, that there was any actual treaty or offer for transferring the subjection, naturally due from them to his majesty's dominion over them, to any foreigner whatsoever, or any thing tending thereunto, but what is here acknowledged.”

“ The account these agents gave to the general assembly from his holiness was, that if the nuncio

did engage, that the confederate catholics should be supplied by his holiness in the maintenance of their war, he did it without any commission from him: his holiness being resolved to give no money upon the event of a war; and that as it was not proper for him to appear, in expressing his sense of the conditions fit to be demanded in matters of religion, so he left them at liberty to proceed, as best suited with the good of the kingdom. This account," adds Mr. Carte, " putting an end to all the expectations of foreign succours, set every body upon reflecting on their own condition, and disposed the confederates to moderate their propositions for a peace, which was become absolutely necessary for their preservation."*

In their dreadful situation, with the awful prospect of destruction before them; divided, exhausted and impoverished, by their mutual quarrels; threatened with extermination by the victorious rebels of England and Scotland, and their numerous partizans here; such conduct proved much for their loyalty: did it for their wisdom? They were more loyal, surely, than the English or Scotch, who fought, conquered and beheaded their monarch.

To talk of natural allegiance, as binding under all situations and circumstances whatsoever, is the language of passive obedience and non-resistance, the divine indefeasable right of kings. 'Tis a doctrine not admitted as orthodox, in the political creed of the master nation; whose con-

* Carte's Ormond.

duct, on various occasions, proves their contempt for it, as one of the slavish errors of the popish schools. Allegiance and protection are the terms of a compact, which, like other compacts, are only so long binding as the conditions can be performed. When it so happens, that the monarch is unable, either through himself or his ministers, to go on with the duties of his station; when he can neither serve or protect them, or they assist or protect him, and each is in peril of destruction, then the great law of self-preservation commands each to look for relief and protection on whatever terms they may be obtained, short of rebellion against the Most High. Could the confederates sacrifice their party antipathies at the altar of their country. Could they have cordially united with the antient Irish, who, after all, were Ireland's best bulwark. Could they, by wise and liberal policy, have rallied the whole under their banners; expelled a perfidious lieutenant; seized on the government, provisionally, for the king, and assisted him in time with their best forces and best generals; their professions of chivalrous allegiance would then be understood, and they needed not have applied to a foreign prince. The contrary of all this betrayed the weakness and injustice of their counsels. Pusillanimous in their proceedings with a weak and wicked government, they revolted the antient natives with the insolence of their disdain. The best general, and best troops, in Ireland, they hated, dreaded and rejected, and thereby made them enemies; while they cringed to those who

sold them, and to those who could not serve them. The same weakness they shewed in their military plans, as well as in the management of affairs in general. Instead of concentrating their forces under one captain-general, who should turn all his might to the most important objects first; which, undoubtedly, was taking the capital, and the reduction of the Ulster planters to their obedience: the reduction of the rest of the kingdom would soon follow. Instead of leaving their generals to depend on very inadequate supplies of money, who were of course obliged to let their soldiers prowl on the peasantry; a sure method of creating scarcity, by discouraging agriculture; they should have sent commissaries, similar to the Roman questors, to collect magazines at the proper stations; and supply whatever was deficient in coin, by tendering national debentures or tokens, for the value of which the nation was guarantee. No. As if Ireland consisted still of four independent kingdoms, there was one general for the kingdom of Leinster, another for the kingdom of Munster, a third for the kingdom of Ulster, and a fourth for the kingdom of Connaught; all independent of each other, liable to thwart and defeat each others projects; and then their troops were generally left to prey on the country, occasioning two evils or three; scarcity, want of discipline, and disaffection in those whose provisions were consumed without any retribution. Instances have been known, of villages giving information to the enemy, of the number, condition and situation

of troops encamped, in order to be rid of their free quarters.

Another notable defence, set up for the loyalty of the confederation, is, the stout opposition they gave the pope's nuncio, in favour of the cessation. It was too late to talk of a cessation in the year 1647, when the king's party was annihilated in England. Who was the cessation to be with then? With Ormond. They were a miserable confederation, if they could not overwhelm him. With the king? He was captive, and well guarded. With the covenanters? Yes; there would be something in a cessation with them, if any pledge of their good faith could be obtained; but they were sworn to the extermination of popery, and would listen to neither truce nor peace with papists. With whom, then, unless with the good people? The archbishops, bishops, secular and regular clergy, mentioned to have exerted their talents in defeating the nuncio's measures, their loyalty cannot be disputed, but their political wisdom does not appear; for they most diligently prepared the overthrow of their country, and the unutterable calamities, by plague, war and famine, that ensued. Among the worthies, who distinguished themselves by their opposition to the nuncio, is mentioned lord Taaffe, who is said to have made his forces ex-communication-proof! But it would have been more to his reputation, to have made them runaway proof; which, alas, he either could not, or would not, as appeared at the fatal battle of Knock na ndoss.

After the disgraceful surrender, Ormond prepared for a speedy departure; and being requested by lord Digby, in the name of Preston and his officers, to remain a while in Ireland, the old fox, sensible of the public execration his treason merited, could not tell what good his stay would do; and so speedily set sail. To diversify this narrative a little, here commences the hunt of the traitor fox, destroyer of the Irish nation. Away, he posts to London, in July, 1647, to receive the remainder of his blood-money. Yet he had greater objects in view. He resorted to the Scotch commissioners, the friends of his old friends, to whom he had taken so many steps of hideous guilt to ingratiate himself. This was the grand lodge of the covenanters; the great resort of the political leaders in England and Scotland. His object, we are gravely told by his advocates, was, to prevail on the Scotch commissioners to contrive ways and means with the Irish for the restoration. *Risum teneatis, amici.* What? Prevail on men actually in consultation with the English parliament on the fate of a king whom they had sold. With men sworn to the extermination of popery; and that too, at the rendezvous of the great rebel leaders, from whom no secret of that kind could be hidden for a moment. He was permitted to see the poor captive king at Hampton-court. Would he, if he had uttered so treasonable a proposal as a junction between the Scotch and Irish? Would he, if he had not the confidence of parliament, as a well affected person? So, after surrendering the king's castle, capital, stores,

strong holds, and garrisons, to the king's enemies, he would propose to the king's enemies to restore him. Could these acute rogues; could any, but an arrant fool, trust the traitor, who had already betrayed his king and country? The places he surrendered were now held for the parliament. Could they believe that any one in his senses would, deliberately, after long consultation, throw such powerful obstacles in the way of his own plan? Had he delivered those places to the confederates, there would have been some meaning in such a proposal. Was it by his sanctifying converse with the godly rebels, that his heart was softened by the grace of loyalty? After depriving the king of all his military resources, strong holds, and garrisons, in Ireland, and handing them over to his enemies, who held him in durance vile, he offers himself a negotiator between the Scotch and Irish; after making himself odious to the latter by a continued series of treasons! He professed to Digby, before his departure, that he did not think himself safe in Ireland; and he would come back with the Scotch, who would not scruple to sell him, after selling their king. Yet such is the account of his advocates.*

All this was theatrically planned, and well acted. He was to wait on the committee of parliament, to receive the reward of his treason, and to give an exact statement of the affairs and parties in Ireland. He was to state what further services he could perform, towards the complete

* Carte. Leland.

reduction of that kingdom. He had indeed laid the corner stone, by the surrender; but he must lend a helping hand to the finishing of the edifice, or miss the golden harvest of his hopes and ambition. His plan had been already formed, and put in practice sundry times; breaking the Irish by artful negotiations, long before lord Digby requested his recommendation to the commissioners of parliament, for that dirty office. In his present state of unpopularity, he was not fitted to undertake the task. He must be white-washed, regenerated by royal authority, before he could again play the wolf in sheep's clothing. For that purpose he must have free access to the king, and work on his unacquaintance with facts, from the knowledge of which he was carefully secluded; on the facility of his temper, and the humiliation of his actual condition. He wanted neither address, or eloquence, or suitable gesture, to work on Charles. He largely represented the dangers and difficulties he had been exposed to, in support of his majesty's crown and dignity, from covenanters, confederates, O'Nial and the nuncio, destitute of competent supplies for his defence. That a conspiracy of these, to besiege him in the capital, and seize that and all his majesty's other fortresses for their own use, determined him rather to surrender them to the parliament; lest, by this acquisition, they should be emboldened to erect themselves into an independent kingdom, or call in some foreign prince, which would expose his majesty still more to the calumnies of his enemies. That

if he erred in a critical circumstance, concerning the least evil to be adopted for his majesty's service, when only a choice of evils remained, he humbly implored his majesty's gracious forgiveness; trusting that, in better times, when he should have the honour of throwing himself at his majesty's feet, and lay before him a full account of his conduct, whatever of human frailty might appear there, he would be found not so guilty as the tongue of malevolence painted him. Meanwhile, his majesty's commission to him alone he would return, on the knees of his heart; and here the apology closed, with theatrical pathos, a few sobs and tears. His majesty, naturally good; indulgent to his favourites and to his servants to a fault; deceived by plausible arguments, concerning which he was but imperfectly informed; moved by a pathos, which he thought unfeigned; and by suppliant adulation, of whose impressions he was not unsusceptible, concluded Ormond still a loyal man, driven to rash steps by the violence of his enemies and the insidious steps of false friends, as he himself had often been; also considering, that hardly any man of weight or abilities would either sue or accept the lieutenancy of Ireland in its present desperate situation, as described to him by his former lieutenant, especially since the fatal surrender. Considering also, the preponderating influence he boasted among the confederates; and that he who inflicted the wound might be the fittest person to heal it; that he had a thorough acquaintance with a country in which

he had a large stake; moved by all these considerations, Charles replied, 'To me, alone, Ormond would surrender his commission; Ormond, alone, shall have it.' Thus re-appointed by the king's authority, he was to repair to the queen and the prince of Wales, in France, with the king's recommendation, to concert measures for the government and defence of Ireland. Thus doubly equipt with the king's commission, renovated with a fresh date and signature, letters recommendatory to the queen and prince of Wales, the parliament's money in his trunk, and their plans in his possession, the confident of both parties, he was sure to dictate to the confederates, and destroy them both abroad and at home. There was one little circumstance more necessary to his triumphant exit from London. Some suspicious rumours must be circulated by his parliamentarian friends. The committee of Derby-house must feign an alarm at his intrigues against the parliament, in favour of the captive monarch; jealousy of the army, on account of his private interviews with the Scotch commissioners. The report of a warrant being preparing against him, was industriously spread, to reach through the zealous royalists the ears of the queen's court. To crown all, he departed privately from London to France;* which he and his friends call, fled

* It does not appear that he demanded the delivery of his hostages, which he was entitled to, if he had entered into no fresh engagements with the rebel parliament. 2dly, If what he and his advocates set forth, that he fled precipitately from a warrant preparing against him for plotting against the

with the crown of a confessor for the royal cause. He ushers himself to the queen, thus a good deal altered from her prepossessions against him. Similar apologies for the surrender, as to the king; similar detail and amplification of his sufferings and sacrifices for the royal cause; similar exposure of the deplorable state of Ireland, and of the incapacity of the confederates, perhaps their unwillingness to save it for the king. One point he strenuously laboured to impress on the queen and the prince of Wales, the great danger to the king, now in the hands of enemies, in granting any considerable indulgence or privileges to Irish catholics; because that would inflame the covenanters against him. The chief view he had in this was, to insure the standing breach between the two catholic parties, with whose different dispositions Ormond was well acquainted; and for the purpose of insuring this rupture, and of pre-occupying the queen and her court against any unfavourable information against himself, through the catholic agents, was his speedy departure from Ireland, when requested to stay, not any apprehension for his personal safety. The Irish agents must have been completely confounded to find him before them, in full favour and confidence at the queen's court. In the following manner the Ormondists

parliament, why have we not heard of the death of any of his hostages, or even the threat thereof; especially if he acted afterwards the true and loyal king's lieutenant of Ireland? 3dly, Why did he continue measures destructive to the king's interest, and to the Irish nation; as the sequel shall shew.

and confederalists represent these dark transactions, “ The agents proceeded in their voyage to France, arrived at St. Germain, and were graciously received by the queen and prince. Notwithstanding her majesty’s partiality to the marquis of Antrim, she soon learned that her attention was to be given principally to lord Muskerry, and Geoffry Browne, as men of more real consequence and power. She conferred with them in private; they produced secret instructions, signed by Preston and lord Taaffe, whereby they were directed to assure her of the unshaken loyalty of their party, and their unalterable adherence to the king’s cause, in despite of those who laboured to introduce a foreign jurisdiction into Ireland; to entreat the countenance and assistance of her majesty and the prince; and to propose, as the measure most effectual for supporting the royal authority, that the prince should come over with arms and money, condescend to the requests of moderate and well affected subjects, and take them under his command. Having thus executed their private commission, they attended Antrim to a public audience, and presented the propositions dictated by the clergy, as the mere form and ceremonial of their office.

1. “ By advice of the marquis of Ormond, the queen and prince returned a general and gracious answer to the Irish agents. They gently condemned the violation of the late peace, but expressed their satisfaction that the confederates seemed at length to discern their true interest.

They observed, that the agents were not yet ready to propose their particular desires with respect to religion, nor empowered to conclude finally on other points of moment, which might require particular discussion and alteration. In these circumstances, they were assured, that the queen and prince would take the only part that could reasonably be expected; that a person should be speedily sent into Ireland, duly authorised to receive full and particular propositions from the confederates, and to grant them every grace consistent with justice and the honour and interest of his majesty.*

During these transactions, Inchiquin, who had laid the counties of Clare and Limerick under contribution, now treated Tipperary in the same manner without opposition. "He had no artillery, nor any more bread than the soldiers carried in their knapsacks; but he was so alert, that after taking ten or twelve little castles and passing the river Sure, he took by stratagem the impregnable fort of Cahir, which had formerly held out for two months against twenty thousand men. It was the most important place in the whole province; commanding a pass over the river, and opening a way into Tipperary, which had always furnished the principal contributions to the Munster army of the Irish. But lord Inchiquin drew another important advantage from this acquisition: his army had nothing before to live upon but roots which they got out

* Leland, Vol. III. B. VI. c. i. p. 320. 321. 322.

of the ground, and growing corn; for all the cattle had been driven away as they advanced; but now they ranged over the finest country in the kingdom, took great preys of cattle, and burnt above twenty thousand pounds worth of corn, whereof no use could be made, all the mills in the country being destroyed or burnt. The sudden reduction of the fort of Cahir, too strong to be retaken, struck all the neighbouring country with amazement and terror. Lord Taaffe, who commanded the Irish Munster army, withdrew from Cashell as lord Inchiquin approached it: and the inhabitants leaving the gates open and deserting their houses retired to the cathedral. This was a strong and spacious building seated upon a rock near the walls of the city; which had of late being very well fortified, and provided by lord Taaffe with a good garrison. It was no easy matter therefore to reduce it: and Inchiquin offered before he attacked it to give leave for the garrison and inhabitants to depart, on condition they would advance three thousand pounds and a month's pay for his army. This proposal was rejected, and the place taken by storm: where a prodigious booty was found, and a most horrible carnage of the citizens and garrison ensued."*

Taaffe now found himself compelled to take the field. At Knock no ndoss the two armies met, in the middle of November 1647. On the right Kolkitto Mac Donnel, commanded a gallant

* Warner. Civil Wars in Ire.

body of highlanders, supported by two regiments of horse. After one discharge of musquetry, the highlanders fell sword in hand upon the enemy's left wing, which was broke, pursued with great slaughter, and their cannon and carriages taken. But the left, commanded by lord Taafe, fled at the first fire; nor could he stop their flight, though he killed several of the fugitives with his own hand. On the return of Inchiquin to the support of his left, the highlanders were abandoned by the cavalry, and by the fall of the brave Kolkitto, left without a commander. Still they stood their ground, until seven hundred of them were slaughtered, when the remains of this brave body surrendered. In this action more than three thousand of the Irish army were killed, six thousand arms, baggage, artillery, generals' tent and cabinet, thirty-eight colours and standards fell into the hands of the victors.

Now he comes, Ormond, the arch-traitor, destroyer of his king and country. He comes, welcome to the miserable infatuated junta. He comes, without any other supply but his commission from the captive king and queen, having expended his blood-money in gaining to his party a young distressed debauchee, afterwards Charles the 2d, and the queen's attendants and favourites. What were his pretences for coming to a country, which he had betrayed? Why, to come as lord lieutenant. He was that before; during which his whole administration was an unbroken tissue of insulting tyranny, cruelty, falsehood and treason. It is affirmed by protestant writers, that his

reasonable surrender of the king's dominion; garrison and strong holds; in Ireland, led to the king's death; and I think not without reason. As long as these were held for the king, there was a possibility of an honest deputy being appointed; and, if honest, he could readily rally the great majority in his majesty's defence, and conquer the refractory. All was not sound at home; for there was still a numerous party of royalists, who, though now dispersed and silent, waited but a favourable moment. They could not always hope to madden the multitude with cant canticles, seditious and false alarms; the fatal axe would awaken that sensibility to fallen greatness, natural to the human breast; especially the feelings of a subject towards a murdered sovereign, who, whatever errors he was led into by the violent and ill-intentioned opposition of his parliaments, or the bad counsel of favourites or ministers, was, in the main, one of their best kings, certainly the best of his name; sober, frugal, attentive to business; in private, a gentleman and scholar; of agreeable manners and amiable conversation; an indulgent husband, parent and master. If he had many enemies, he could not but have many friends. His enemies, therefore, would hardly venture to strike the last blow, while he had one kingdom devoted to him, and in a forward disposition of manifesting their zeal, if not impeded by a treacherous deputy. What other pretence brought back the ill-omened beast of prey, destroyer of his king and country? Why, he had brought a commission from the

king, queen, and prince of Wales, to make peace with the catholics of Ireland! What a consummation of effrontery does the brazen front of treason and hypocrisy display, to the wretched pusillanimous junta of Kilkenny? Had he not that commission many years before? Who for years opposed the wishes and commands of the king, to conclude a peace with the catholics of Ireland? Ormond. Who treacherously concealed from the Irish the king's good intentions towards his catholic subjects? Ormond. Who made war on the peaceable Irish pending the negotiations, purposely to break them off? Ormond. Who requested of the protestants of Dublin, and the privy council, the loan of three thousand pounds; engaging, on receipt thereof, to break off the treaty with the Irish, and continue the war against them? Ormond. Who was privately treating with the Scotch of Ulster, and the king's enemies elsewhere; engaging to carry on the war against the Irish, while he was publicly, by the king's command, negotiating with them? Ormond. Who commenced his career in public life, by obeying the bloody orders of the justices, laying waste the English Pale seventeen miles by fifteen, slaughtering indiscriminately the unoffending inhabitants? Ormond. Who received a jewel, valued five hundred pounds, with a letter of thanks from the rebel parliament, for satisfying their craving thirst for Irish blood, in his inhuman ravages and butcheries? Ormond. Who made it his study to divide, instead of uniting, the most loyal portion of his majesty's subjects

in his defence; always obeying the instructions of the English parliament, and disobeying the king's most earnest ardent wishes and commands? Ormond. Why, then, govern an abused, insulted nation, in the name and by the authority of a betrayed king? The magic wand of royal authority was necessary to keep a loyal people in obedience to a jurisdiction, which should divide them from each other, and from their king; that he should derive no succour from their zeal until his fate was decided in England. Why, after that unfortunate monarch's irretrievable overthrow, still wear the mask of loyalty, and govern in his name? For the same reasons, and further to prevent any union among the Irish, or recourse to foreign aid. To facilitate the reduction of Ireland to the obedience of the parliament; lest the fugitive family, aided by foreign powers, should there find a back door, and depot, to burst in upon them, before their new scheme of a commonwealth was firmly established. To provide for a number of hungry auxiliaries, whom they were unable to satisfy with money, an equivalent of land in Ireland, by the slaughter of its inhabitants. His treasonable surrender of the king's castle, capital, stores and garrisons; the treasons of his speedy flight to London; his intrigues there, and his trip thence to France, and back to Ireland again, have already been stated. Well, further, the perpetual and implacable enemy of the king's and Irish peace now comes back, to make peace when too late, as Leland observes. Could not the catholics ask him, with

whom are we to make peace? With whom have we been at war? Not with the king; for it was not against the king, but in our own defence, we took up arms, necessary for self-preservation, by the unprovoked inhuman warfare, carried on by you and the justices against us, while in profound peace and obedience to the laws. 'Twas you that carried on war against us; not by, but contrary to his majesty's orders, traitor and rebel as you were, obeying the orders of the king's English enemies; but in so much worse and more detestable than they, as you fired at both king and people from the masked battery of hypocrisy and feigned loyalty. Now that you have betrayed the king's authority into the hands of his enemies, you can no longer make war on us by open force. What strength had belonged to the king, being now in the hands of his enemies, you cannot turn against us; as for family power, 'tis not great enough to frighten us. I have a renewed commission to make peace. With whom, again? With the royal family. We wish we could effectually serve them; and if in their poverty and exile they must be flattered and coaxed by a sacrifice of our civil and religious rights, they merit not our service. Or, oh! but I think it quite necessary for your safety, and a test of your loyalty, to enter into a treaty with me, in which you will sacrifice most of your civil and religious rights to the prejudices and interest of the protestant royalists, that so I may coalesce you into one body of loyalty, to fight for the king, and for yourselves and estates, against

the growing power and insolent claims of that odious, detested race, the old Irish, who are now become terrible under the banners of O'Nial, and set up claims for forfeited lands, that threaten us all. All is hush then.

On the 29th of September, 1648, he arrives at Cork ; loud acclamations hail him at his landing. “ On the next day, the general assembly, sitting at Kilkenny, gave a very signal proof of their desire to be again received under his government, by fixing a public brand on the two principal opposers of the late peace, the nuncio Renuccini, and general Owen O'Nial. For they proclaimed the latter a rebel and a traitor ; and upon entering into a treaty of peace with the marquis, they drew up a charge against the former, “ representing the manifold oppressions, transcendent crimes, and capital offences, which he had been continually, for three years past, acting within the kingdom, to the unspeakable detriment of their religion, the ruin of the nation, and the dishonour of the see of Rome.”

“ With the above-mentioned charge, Sir Richard Blake, chairman of the assembly, sent him notice, by their order, that there was a declaration and protestation preparing against him, which were sent to his holiness, to the end that his lordship might prepare for his journey, and for his defence ; and that, in the mean time, he should not intermeddle, by himself or any of his instruments, directly or indirectly, with the affairs of the nation, on the penalty which might ensue, by the law of God and nations.”

“ The nuncio, accordingly, left Ireland on the 23rd of February following, to the great joy of the principal nobility and gentry, and the most respectable ecclesiastics of the kingdom. Yet while he was preparing for his departure, the lord lieutenant sent him a private message, by two of his particular friends, the bishop of Ferns and Nicholas Plunkett, Esq. “ that if he would then, at parting, take off his excommunication, and dispose the people to an absolute obedience to the peace, and the king’s authority, he should not only receive all possible civility from him, at his departure from Ireland, but that he would make a very advantageous mention of him to the queen, whose distressed condition,” he said, “ would certainly gain some credit to her at Paris, if it was not worse than London.” But the nuncio did not wait their coming; for on the night before, he went to sea in his own frigate, and, on the 2d of March, landed at St. Vaast, in the Lower Normandy.”*

What welcome news to the covenanters of England, Ireland and Scotland, the illustrious hero of Ireland, Owen Roe O’Nial, crowned with laurels on the continent; the only name on the military staff of Ireland formidable to its enemies; who had the praise even of his enemies, both at home and abroad; the lineal descendant and rightful heir of so many kings and monarchs of Ireland, of a race almost always its ornament and bulwark; magnificent patrons of arts and

* Carte’s Ormond.

sciences, favourers of the muses, all that essentially grace and adorn human life; champions of the faith, protectors of the weak, terrors of evil-doers, and to their enemies. Owen Roe O'Nial, the only true champion, the shield and right-hand of Eirin, is declared a rebel and traitor! This was hard treatment to those gallant Irish officers, who quitted foreign service, where promotions, honors, and honorable family alliances were open, on the continent; and which numbers of inferior fame had before, and have since reached, in order, at the invitation of their countrymen of both races, to assist their common distress. All this, too, shortly after he had offered the confederates to bid defiance to their enemies, on receiving such assistance as their other very unsuccessful generals; which offers, says Leland, they rejected with disdain.

And what mighty senate issued this decree against the Hannibal of Clanna Gaodhal? A second edition, with a little augmentation, little for the better, of the parliament of the Pale. The descendants of those blood-thirsty, pelf-seeking, English papists, who thronged here successively. To improve, was it? They said so. But what improvement could they impart? Men, described by some of their English countrymen, as jail-birds, indigent and profligate, loaded with debts and crimes, who ran away from domestic infamy, the hue and cry of the offended laws, the cells of their prisons, or, what was as galling as any of these, the pangs of hunger and poverty. Some younger sons of

genteel families must be allowed of the number, but the mass was of the foregoing description. That their countrymen, remaining in England, gave no untrue pourtraiture of those adventurers, their conduct, since their arrival, gave unequivocal proofs. There was nothing revolting in crime, at which they would boggle. There was no scheme so base and dishonourable, so perfidious and atrocious, but they would eagerly embrace, to circumvent, destroy and plunder a wealthy native. The poisoned bowl, the dagger of the assassin, the midnight ruffian, the treacherous invitation to the murderous banquets, were all welcome instruments to murder and plunder the natives. From coming over swindlers, vagabonds, beggars, and all the outcast scum of the neighbouring island, they came, by infernal arts, fraud, treachery, cruelty, to gain estates here, and become great men. Behold their descendants sitting in state in Kilkenny, mock representatives of a nation once renowned for humanity, valour, piety, hospitality and learning. Like cat, like kitten, they abhor the remnants of that once renowned and honourable people, whose blood was shed by their fathers' arts; and whose patrimonial estates they now enjoyed. They dreaded the resurgency of Milesian power, under the victorious banners of an O'Nial; a hero, whom they alike hated and dreaded. The restitution of forfeited lands; this was the secret anguish that preyed on their thoughts by night, and the whisper of alarm by day. 'O'Nial is terrible; we know not where he will stop.'

What else, but alarm for their landed property, artfully excited by Digby, and similar creatures of Ormond and the parliament, could inflame them to such a pitch of fury, and such headlong courses of improvident phrenzy? They were already sure to have the parliament forces on their hands: that was not enough; they must accelerate and invigorate their operations, by a declaration of war. That declaration roused all the republican energies of England and Scotland, to co-operate with the parliament; so that all requisitions of men, money, provisions and warlike stores, would be promptly obeyed, to chastise the insolence of popish rebel royalists. Proclaiming Charles king, and bowing to Ormond as his viceroy, was that declaration. The covenanters, throughout England, Scotland, Ulster, and the rest of Ireland, were their avowed enemies. Ormond wished to persuade them of the loyal co-operation of the protestants of Ireland; even so, they were but a weak auxiliary against such powerful enemies.

Least they had not enemies enough, they were inspirited by Ormond's creatures and coadjutors, to insult and banish the venerable archbishop of Fermo, whose zeal for the catholics made him obey the commands of the sovereign to visit this oppressed country, and assist, with his counsel, and whatever supplies could be sent him. The prelate spoke and acted to the best of his judgment. Suppose him in error, which subsequent events acquit him of, it was indecent and illiberal to heap such abuse on his grey locks, after

undertaking so long a voyage, and undergoing so many years of toil and hardship, and endeavouring to reconcile their jarring factions, and convince them of the only sure path to safety. I know they have accused him of aspiring to a cardinal's cap. It was paying a dear price for any cap or hat on earth, to bear four or five years with the wrangling contention, malevolent slanders, corrupt faction, and all the Biscay storms of Irish politics. Corrupt men will judge others on the standard of their own foul hearts. Father Luke Wading, the prime mover, the life and soul of all the interest that Rome took in their cause, and of whatever supplies came thence, was, in like manner, insulted by them. Let no man imagine, that any money came from the pope's treasure, or that of any other prince. Like another Paul, Wading traversed Italy, and every where preached, exhorted the faithful, to give liberal contributions, in support of the distressed catholics. He took from the pope, cardinals, dukes, princes, bishops, chanoines, barons, abbots, nunneries, friaries, pious matrons; and in a word, from all orders, ages, ranks and sexes, he laboured to obtain what he could in support of Irish catholics. I shall be told this was a weak resource for to maintain a war. Allowed. But when the poor man did all that was possible for him to do, neither he, nor the poverty of his means, should be insulted. Well, the confederates, in the giddy intoxication of tottering power, and in the pert petulance of sudden consequence, sent him a letter of thanks; in which they pro-

mitted to recommend him to the pope, for a cardinal's hat! Whether Wading considered this extravaganza merely as the effect of presumptuous ignorance, or as a premeditated personal insult, he modestly replied, that he was happy in his present mode of life, in his cloister; and that it became not men, in their condition, to ask for that, which was granted as a favour only for the first crowned heads of Europe. So they heard no more from him, or the Italian supplies.

Having thus dismissed their ecclesiastical benefactors, with the contemptuous insolence connate with upstart puppyism, let us see what this wise senate provided for the defence of the realm. They had foreign and domestic enemies, as already observed. I suppose they laboured to stifle all animosities; to unite all parties; and summon, by every degree of encouragement, rewards and honours. No; the very contrary of all this was the policy pursued by this besotted Areopagus. Instead of reconciling, they divided. At the return of the arch traitor, as viceroy of the fugitive court, O'Nial, decidedly the ablest general in the British dominions, and one of the best in Europe, was declared, by that wretched prostitute conventicle, a rebel and traitor. Monroe, when at open war with the king, laying waste Ulster, and driving thousands of Irish cattle to Scotland, for the edification of the faithful, was never so proclaimed. Inchiquin, after deserting the king's cause, waging a bloody war against the Irish, according to the inhuman manner of Cromwell, Coote, and other parliament generals;

after the massacre of three thousand, of all ages and sexes, in the cathedral of Cashel, was not thus proclaimed. The arch traitor, who murdered his betrayed sovereign, after betraying all that belonged to him, except the hearts of his loyal subjects, was not so treated; but received with hosannahs, as the saviour of a country, whose ruin he had conspired, and was enabled to accomplish, by their own infatuation. Was this a liberal recompense for gallant officers, who, at the solicitation of their distressed country, renounced the bright prospects, and honourable situations abroad, to hasten home to its relief, and shed their blood in its defence. The call was not from one national party to another; it was from those unfortunately divided races, to all foreign Irish officers, without distinction of blood; as was natural for a people, in their first struggle, to wish for experienced military men to organize their mobs.

This act was extremely fatal to Ireland. By it the confederates damned their own cause, and surrendered themselves and their country into the hands of their enemies. They did that, which the English parliament, Cromwell, Coote, Ormond, and all the open and covert enemies of Ireland, wished. They delivered Samson into the hands of the Philistines; and the latter took care to get off the man, who was the terror of all the popish and covenanting enemies of Ireland. Sir Charles Coote, holding Derry for the parliament, and being sorely pressed for want of provisions, having sustained a long siege from the

lord of Ardes, who commanded the royalist army, contrived to send a messenger to O'Nial. Having heard of his being proclaimed a traitor and rebel; and knowing, consequently, that he must be distressed for money to pay his troops, he offered him a large sum, on condition he relieved him. Owen, indignant at the outrage offered to him and his brave troops, marched to raise the siege. The lord of Ardes, not thinking it prudent to wait his arrival, departed from before Derry hastily. Owen Roe was received, with every appearance of friendship, into the town; a ball and supper was prepared, for the entertainment of the deliverer of Derry and his officers; and he received a present of a pair of russet boots, in order to dance with a young lady, who particularly coveted to enjoy the honor of that diversion with the great man. Supper being ended, he danced with her and some others, untill he fell into a perspiration, and was wearied. He soon after retired to bed, fell sick, and in a few days expired. Whether the popular opinion, of his having been presented with a pair of poisoned boots, be well founded, still rests on conjecture; yet, I think, the probabilities favour that opinion. Coote, as well as his father, was a mortal enemy to Irish papists. He had engaged for a large sum, which, perhaps, he was unable to pay; and the general, at the head of his forces, could compel payment, or make reprizals. He would be well rewarded by the enemies of Ireland, the English parliament and the Irish confederates, for the dispatch of this great man, so formidable

to both. He durst not openly attack him, his army being so near to take revenge; and can we suppose that Coote would be more scrupulous than English papists, who never hesitated, in similar circumstances, to get rid of a great man, when his life would be loss, and his death gain.

Now Ormond arrives in Kilkenny, with treachery, death and destruction in his train, and a solemn mockery of every sacred and civil institution ensued, that made our canonized forefathers weep. The murderer of his sovereign, and of millions of his countrymen; the betrayer of the nation, the avowed enemy of the catholic faith, is seated on a throne of state, representing the majesty of our kings! The civil and religious rights of Ireland, their plighted vows in defence of toleration, are laid prostrate at his feet, by this vile, self-degraded assembly, cringing to an idol of their own creation. How did he murder his sovereign? When, for years, to serve the king's enemies, he prevented the union of the king with his loyal Irish subjects, so ardently wished by both, when the succours of the Irish could easily have turned the vibrating scale of victory in his favour. He murdered millions; because, by the destruction of the king, and the surrender of his force into the hands of his enemies, and by his subsequent bargain with the parliament, he delivered Ireland, defenceless, into the hands of its enemies. Now for the particulars of the farce.

“The lord lieutenant being invited to Kilkenny by the general assembly, October the 28th, in

order to a more expeditious settling of the points in dispute, made his entry into that city in a splendid manner; having been met at some distance from it by the whole body of the assembly, and by all the nobility, clergy and gentry in the neighbourhood. He was received into the town by the mayor and aldermen, with all those ceremonies and honours, which such corporations used to pay to the supreme authority of the kingdom, and was lodged in his own castle, with all his own guards about him."

"The next day after his arrival at Kilkenny, his excellency entered into a treaty of peace with the general assembly; and after he had advanced so far in it, as that, " he thought he had good grounds to hope it would be speedily concluded, upon the conditions he was empowered to give them, he found it suddenly interrupted by a very dangerous mutiny, raised by some leading officers in lord Inchiquin's army, who endeavoured, not only to hinder the conclusion of the peace, but also to incline those under them to a treaty and submission to the English parliament."

"On this occasion, it was thought necessary by his excellency and lord Inchiquin, to suspend the conclusion of the peace, " in such manner, as might induce the mutineers to believe it would be wholly laid aside for their satisfaction." On the other hand, the article concerning the free exercise of religion, was not yet adjusted to the satisfaction of the assembly; some of the clergy having much higher expectations, in that respect, than others thought fit to be insisted on. " This

was the only point, in which there was danger of the treaty's breaking up unfinished, it being very difficult to give content therein to the Roman catholics, without at the same time disgusting the protestants." But an incident happening at this juncture, united the differing parties in that assembly, and greatly accelerated the peace. Some copies of the remonstrance of the independent army in England, which had publicly avowed their design of subverting every thing, that had been hitherto known for government in these nations, were then brought to Kilkenny, and read with universal abhorrence. This immediately removed all the difficulties which some of the Roman catholics, in zeal for their religion, had thrown in the way of the peace. The general assembly receded from their demands in that point. And on the 28th of December, upon consideration of his majesty's present condition, and their own hearty desires, says Mr. Carte, of spending their lives and fortunes, in maintaining his rights and interests, they resolved unanimously, to accept of the marquis of Ormond's answer to their propositions for religion. "That desperately wicked remonstrance," says the marquis himself, "whatever mischief it may do, hath yet done this good, that it put us quite from all disputes upon the necessity of conditions, and was no small cause of the speedy, and I hope, happy conclusion of the peace.

"On the 17th of January, 1649, the general assembly repaired to the presence of the lord lieutenant in his castle at Kilkenny, and there,

with all solemnity imaginable, presented to him, sitting on a throne of state, the articles of the peace, by the hands of Sir Richard Blake, their chairman, which he received; and having confirmed them, on his majesty's behalf, caused them to be publicly proclaimed. Nine Roman catholic bishops, present in the assembly, joined, the next day, in a circular letter, which they sent to all the cities and corporations of their party, exhorting them to receive and obey the peace now concluded; which was in substance that which had been made in 1646, but rejected by a former assembly.*

Let me ask again the confederate traitors, and the arch traitor, with whom this peace? To what mighty conqueror, this headlong prostitution of the honour and interest of the nation, this solemn breach of their association-oath, for the repeal of all the penal statutes? To the king? Were he even in the plenitude of his power, it were base to sacrifice so much without compulsion. But now his authority was defunct in England, and what remained to him in Ireland had been betrayed by the golden image set up at Kilkenny. To the fugitive family? They ought and would thank heaven, that so respectable a portion of his majesty's subjects still retained their loyalty, while the rest rebelled; and, instead of bidding them fasten on the yoke of bondage heavier than before, they would, as they ought, promise them equal privilege and favour with the most favoured

* Carte's Ormond.

subjects, as the reward of such exemplary devotion to the reigning family. To whom then? To the arch traitor? Apparently yes, but in reality to their hatred and fear of the antient Irish; least, under the victorious standard of O’Nial, they should demand restitution. “In a close conference it appeared to them that their only salvation lay in a close union with Ormond.”* If that was not the object of their voluntary surrender of their rights and breach of their oaths; compulsory it could not be, because Ormond then had no more power than they chose to confer on him. What else? Was it warding off the invasion from England? Yes, indeed, after declaring war against the parliament, by proclaiming the so called pretender king. Was it to procure foreign alliance? No. After voluntarily abdicating their religious rights, and breaking their vows for maintaining them, foreign powers must laugh them to scorn. Was it to consolidate their interest at home? All true catholics abominated their treaty; candid protestants laughed at their voluntary servitude, and judged them bad allies for the cause of freedom: besides their doing what their enemies most of all wished for, depriving Ireland of her spear and shield; of the only hero most capable, in the opinion even of his enemies, of saving her at that time of emergency. The definition of the so-called peace then is this: on the part of Ormond it was an engine to divide and destroy the Irish, through their

* Leland.

fears, artfully excited, of losing their estates, unless in conjunction with Ormond they could beat off, or put down O'Nial, and the antient Irish, fighting with him. On the part of the confederates, it was a combination against the antient Irish, to secure possessions acquired from their forfeiture. On the part of Ormond it was a trap to divide first, and then accomplish the sale of the Irish to the English parliament; to smooth the way for Oliver, and make his conquest easy.

Every one who reads, or even does not read, has heard of the penal laws and catholic emancipation; but not every one knows, that the base, traitorous junta of Kilkenny, which began with swaggering professions, never to sheath the sword until they obtained the abolition of all the penal statutes, ended with breaking their oath, and decreeing a penal code against their own profession, as cruel as any that preceded it. Ormond possessed neither the means of corruption or coercion. His blood-money was spent abroad, in corrupting a very corruptible young prince, the queen's favourites; his power, as viceroy, had been already betrayed to the enemy; his private fortune was inadequate to bribe or terrify; the penalties, therefore, contained in what was ridiculously called a treaty, were so many voluntary inflictions of penalties, by an assumed legislative authority, against popery, by a popish junta. Were the poor abject slaves flattered with a hope of gaining the friendship and co-operation of their protestant fellow-subjects, by this voluntary

abnegation of their faith? On the contrary, they were viewed in the same odious light as the Hollanders in Japan, spitting on the cross, for filthy lucre's sake. How could Irish protestants, always zealous for their civil and religious liberties, trust people, who so willingly sacrificed both, without compulsion or necessity, to the dictates of a traitor. Let one instance of the penal code, passed by the traitorous popish junta of Kilkenny, against popery, and the sentiments of a protestant German prince thereon, suffice for all; *ex pede herculem et ex ungue leonem*.

“ Prince Rupert had desired 1000 landmen to man his fleet; and no sooner were they granted, when his partiality to the Irish encouraged them to sedition. Contrary to the articles of peace, they were allowed to celebrate their mass in the sea-ports; and, spirited up by the attendants of the prince, they insulted the protestants, and raised such commotions, as all the diligence and prudence of lord Inchiquin were scarcely sufficient to allay. Rupert himself held a correspondence with Antrim, O’Neil, and other discontented Irish. Encouragement was given in his name to all who were willing to serve the king in “ an opposite way to the present government.” Thus was a turbulent spirit excited in Connaught, which Claurickarde with difficulty repressed; schemes were formed for raising forces in the south; Ormond discovered these practices, and Rupert was ashamed to avow them. As the marquis now meditated the design of investing Dublin, the prince was in-

treated to block up the harbour with his fleet. Jones must have thus been speedily reduced to extremity; but, a service so easy and so essential to the king's interest, prince Rupert unaccountably declined. With the same obstinacy he refused to favour the blockade of Derry and to cut off the supplies expected by Sir Charles Coote; nor would he furnish Ormond with the money which the king had directed him to pay to his lieutenant for the public service.'*'

This paragraph is well worthy of observation, Is this the end of eight years war, and almost as long a period of negotiation? Is this the decree of the profligate junta of Kilkenny; that it is mutiny for a catholic seaman to hear mass ashore? Contrary to the articles of peace, they were allowed to celebrate their mass in the sea ports! Do the Ormondist writers mean, that the sailors read mass ashore? No; they heard mass. Thus ended, then, all the bravadoes and oaths of the catholic association of Kilkenny, that they enacted a penal code against their own profession, making it mutiny for a catholic seaman to hear mass ashore!

Who was this prince Rupert, who encouraged this shocking mutiny in Irish catholic seamen, to hear mass ashore, contrary to the statutes of the popish assembly of Kilkenny? Every English reader will have read of that gallant prince Rupert, to whose valour and skill, as general of cavalry, king Charles owed all the advantages he

* *Ireland*, Vol. III. B. VI. c. i. p. 339. 340.

obtained in the war with the rebels. Grandson of the king, a brave German protestant prince, stranger to the strange bigotry of religion prevailing in Ireland, he could not see how a sailor would be a worse man, for worshipping God his own way; and he could not but think ill of a popish junta, making it penal for a popish seaman to hear mass. Advocates of catholic emancipation, attend to this. Here is a penalty against your religion, decreed by a popish conventicle at Kilkenny, which your protestant fellow-subjects would blush to sanction now. Readers of every description pause here. The so-called peace, you see, is a sanctioned penal code; and a combination with the traitor Ormond, against the old Irish. Ye revilers of the pope's nuncio and O'Nial, where are you now? How can you defend these traitors to God, religion and their country? Every article of this advocate of Ormond must be noticed. "Prince Rupert envied him the glory of reducing Ireland to the king's obedience!" They were in the king's obedience, until the traitors, Parsons, Borlase and Ormond, drove them to arms; they longed to serve the king, while Ormond hindered them; but now they are indeed reduced to king Ormond's obedience.

"Contrary to the articles of peace, the popish sailors were allowed to hear mass, by prince Rupert!" This was not the only offence of that gallant protestant prince; encouragement was given in his name, to all who were willing to serve his majesty, in an "opposite way to the present government." Reader, do you understand this?

In an opposite way to the present government? Who was the present government? Ormond. Who made him such? Was it a slip of paper from St. Germain, or the confederates? Doubtless, the confederates. What say you now, advocates of catholic emancipation; revilers of the nuncio and O’Nial? Here, by the concurrence and vote of a popish assembly, papists are rendered unfit to serve his majesty.

Rupert also refused to block up the harbour of Dublin, at the intreaty of Ormond. That proved him not a blockhead, to refuse his trust to a traitor, who had given proofs enough of his treasons already, in betraying the king’s strongholds and garrisons. Had he come into Dublin bay he must fall a prey to the parliament ships, likely intended by the traitor.

We have seen the frantic pranks of the confederates, during what they were pleased to call their treaty of peace with Ormond; and how, amidst a host of enemies, they cut off Ireland’s right arm, by declaring against O’Nial. We have seen their distracted councils in peace; the imbecillity of their preparations for war; let us now see, how they, and their favourite Ormond, planned and executed their campaign. On the approach of a formidable foe, a good general would demolish almost all the forts, and untenable fortresses of the kingdom; such as Drogheda, Dundalk, Newry, Carlingford, Trim, &c. places which might bid defiance to pike and musket, but were not proof against battering cannon. He would remove all manner of provision into the

interior, and destroy what he could not remove. He would, instead of dispersing his forces into a number of weak garrisons, where they must inevitably become a prey to the enemy, collect them together, in order to watch the enemy's motions, straighten their quarters, attack his convoys and foraging parties, and intercept his reinforcements. Without hazarding the fate of the country in one general battle, he would reduce the enemy, by a war of detail, until some favourable opportunity might offer of dealing a heavy blow. Thus it was, that Fabius defended Italy, and Washington America. Thus also, O'Cavenagh defended Leinster, and O'Nial Ulster. The direct contrary was the foolish or treasonable plan of Ormond and the confederates. They dispersed their forces over a great extent, in places untenable against battering cannon, where no relief or co-operation could be expected. For example, Drogheda is encompassed by heights north and south, and defended only by a stone wall, good enough in the old Irish wars, but no defence against Cromwell's artillery. Three or four thousand of their forces were slaughtered there, almost without opposition. Not fewer than twenty thousand soldiers were in this manner dispersed over the kingdom, which, collected together, might harass or fight Cromwell. This mismanagement was the contrivance of folly or fraud. Last of all, and after weakening their force, by distributing them in untenable garrisons all over the kingdom, they undertook, what ought to have been the very first enterprize, with undi-

minished force, the siege of the capital. The folly or wickedness of this attempt, is self-evident. To besiege a large city, with a force scarcely more numerous, certainly not so well appointed as the garrison! A division, marching a whole night from Rathmines to Baggatrath-castle, to fortify themselves there, in a few hours, and command the passage of the river Liffy! It is clear enough, either that Ormond was one of the most incapable generals, or that he was fulfilling his engagement with the parliament, and facilitating the conquest of Ireland. Thus, he who exposed between six and seven thousand men to destruction, by leading them against the capital, where all the advantages were against them, would not attack the garrison, laden with booty, on their return to Dublin, where he might engage them on equal terms. "So that when Jones had marched some distance from the capital, and Ormond had the fairest opportunity of engaging him to advantage, he was forced to keep his station westward of the Liffy, and to suffer the governor to retire unmolested."* Was it want of provision? The best inducement imaginable for attacking a party laden with that article. It was want of courage or honesty.

The long impending calamities of Ireland were at length on the point of bursting on it like a thunder clap. Measures, which were their ruin, were matured both at home and abroad. The confederates had sacrificed their religion and country, like the Dutch in Japan, for the security

* Leland.

of their estates; and the sacrifice availed them nothing. Their resources were all mismanaged in the hands of treachery or incapacity; they had insulted the only man capable of standing in the breach, and allaying the storm, and were chiefly instrumental in shortening his days. That great man resigned his breath, with a painful presentiment of calamities which soon followed; for the inhuman Cromwell landed, and arrived in Dublin, on the 15th of August, 1649, with eight thousand foot and four thousand horse, well appointed, abundance of military stores, a formidable train of artillery and money, the sinew of war.

He began his military operations against Drogheda. "Disdaining all regular approaches and formal operations of a siege, he summoned the governour to surrender; and, on his refusal, thundered against the walls for two days, until he had made a sufficient breach. The assault was given, and his men twice repulsed. In the third attempt led by Cromwell himself, the town was gained. Quarter had been promised to all those who should lay down their arms; a promise observed until all resistance was at an end. But the moment that the city was completely reduced, Cromwell, with an infernal calmness and deliberation, resolved by one effectual execution to terrify the whole Irish party. He issued his fatal orders, that the garrison should be put to the sword. His soldiers, many of them with reluctance, butchered their prisoners. The governour, and all his gallant officers, betrayed to slaughter by the cowardice of some of their troops, were

massacred without mercy. For five days this hideous execution was continued with every circumstance of horror. A number of ecclesiastics was found within the walls; and Cromwell, as if immediately commissioned to execute divine vengeance on these ministers of idolatry, ordered his soldiers to plunge their weapons into the helpless wretches. Some few of the garrison contrived to escape in disguise. Thirty persons only remained unslaughtered by an enemy glutted and oppressed by carnage; and these were instantly transported as slaves to Barbadoes.

“ This execrable policy had the intended effect. The garrisons of Trim and Dundalk, in their consternation, neglected the orders of the marquis of Ormond to burn these towns, and demolish the fortifications; so that they were immediately possessed by the enemy. Venables was detached into the province of Ulster. He soon reduced Carlingford: Newry was surrendered; in marching against Lisburne, he was attacked, and exposed to some danger, but fortunately extricated himself, and was received into the town without resistance. Belfast was surrendered upon articles, in four days after his approach; Colerain was betrayed to Sir Charles Coote, who drove Sir George Monroe from the counties of Downe and Antrim, and reduced the whole country except the castle of Carricfergus.

“ In the mean time, Cromwell with his usual vigour, resolved to seize the advantage of the consternation and dissensions of his enemies, and to proceed in his operations notwithstanding the

advanced season of the year. He had his correspondencies in Munster, his secret partizans in the cities and forts possessed by the Irish, and now marched with nine thousand men through the county of Wicklow, while his fleet attended the motions of this army; and the country people, assured of protection, and made to believe that they should enjoy the liberty of their religion, crowded to his camp with provisions, for which they immediately received the full value. As he advanced, the forts and towns of inferiour note were at once surrendered; and, on the first day of October, he sat down before Wexford. The citizens had hitherto neglected all means of defence, and obstinately refused to admit any troops. In their present terrour, which was artfully enflamed by those who held intelligence with Cromwell, they first proposed to open their gates to the enemy; at the urgent instances of the marquis of Ormond, they at length deigned to accept of succours; yet, with a fanaticism not peculiar to popery, they continued in their extremity to reject the assistance of heretics, and demanded a garrison composed entirely of the faithful. Ormond was by this time considerably strengthened; he, therefore, contrived to throw fifteen hundred catholic troops into Wexford; and, at the requisition of the magistrate, five hundred more. Having thus provided for the security of the city, he retired with the remains of his army, and arrived securely at Ross, though an attempt had been made to intercept him by a party under the command of Michael Jones.

“ But all the provisions made for the defence of Wexford, could not secure it from secret treachery. One Stafford, governour of the castle, had been suspected by Ormond; but as he had the merit of being a catholic, the commissioners of trust would not consent to remove him. No sooner had Cromwell's batteries began to play, when this man admitted his soldiers into the castle upon conditions. The citizens were suddenly confounded at sight of his colours waving on the battlements, and their own cannon pointed against the town. In the first tumult of terrour and consternation, they sent commissioners to treat with the enemy; but the townsmen were impatient of delay; the soldiers ran tumultuously from the walls; every man consulted his own safety, and thus were all destroyed. The enemy gained the city without farther resistance, and proceeded to put all to the sword who were found in arms, with an execution as horribly deliberate as that of Drogheda. Hence Cromwell proceeded to lay siege to Ross, a town situated on the river Barrow, and more considerable for navigation than that of Wexford. At the same time he detached a strong party under the command of Ireton, to invest Duncannon. Such was the general consternation, occasioned by the progress and severities of Cromwell, that the citizens of Waterford, though nearly interested in the defence of this fort, refused to supply it with provisions, and seemed ready to submit on the first appearance of an enemy; while the commissioners of trust, seated at Kilkenny in all the futile

pomp of authority, began to tremble for their security, and were scarcely restrained from flying to some place more inaccessible to the parliamentarians. To confirm these terrours, the town of Ross was immediately surrendered upon articles.

“ The fort of Duncannon made a more honourable resistance: and so considerably had the victorious army been reduced by the severity of the season, in a country at this time unfriendly to English constitutions, that a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men was sent from Dublin, and had been some time expected by Cromwell. Lord Inchiquin was informed of the march of these forces; and, with consent of Ormond and the commissioners of trust, resolved to intercept them. In this attempt he was foiled and defeated. Yet Wogan, the officer who commanded in Duncannon, continued to make a brave defence. By the assistance and encouragement of lord Castlehaven, he made a sally with such vigour and success, that the enemy at once raised the siege, not without some confusion. On retiring to their main body, they found the general transporting his troops to the county of Kilkenny, by a bridge of boats constructed on the Barrow, a device utterly strange and astonishing to the rude Irish. Ormond, who had concluded his accommodation with Owen O’Nial, and already received part of his forces, made some preparations for disputing the passage of the river; but Cromwell, superiour in vigilance and expedition, as well as numbers, had already transported his army, and obliged

the marquis to retire gradually to the city of Kilkenny. Here he found the rest of the northern Irish forces ready to receive his commands. The presence of their favourite general was still wanting; for O’Nial now laboured under a grievous malady, which soon after put a period to his life.”*

Yes, indeed, their favourite general, the favourite of the great majority of Irishmen, was wanting; and a grievous blow to Ireland was that lamented death. He was not a man to fear the fanatical fury of Cromwell, or his army; formidable only when not opposed by a skilful general, and disciplined forces. General O’Nial was, by the confession even of his enemies, peculiarly fitted for the service of Ireland, at that momentous period; and the force he left behind him, conveyed to the confederates by his friend, Ever Mac Mahon, bishop of Clogher, by his dying recommendation, bore honourable testimony to the abilities of the commander, who trained them to war; sufficient to make Ireland mourn the immense loss it sustained by his untimely death. Had he been invested with power there, he would not have dispersed but reinforced them, and followed the footsteps of Cromwell, and encamped near him as he laid siege to Waterford, to besiege the besiegers. He would never lose sight of him, but watch his every motion, in order to seize some favourable opportunity.

* Leland, Vol. III. B. VI. c. i. p. 350. 351. 352. &c.

But Ormond seemed peculiarly guarded from offending his friends, now ruling in England, to whom he owed his promotion; nor was Cromwell less complaisant to him. He could not, in decency, pass by Kilkenny, without some appearance of hostility, lest the lieutenant should be suspected of collusion. Some skirmishing took place, after which the republican general, having done enough to lull suspicion, was inoffensively marching away, when the magistrates of the town opened the gates, and politely invited him in. Thence he marched to Clonmell, where he expected to repeat the butcheries of Drogheda and Wexford. But “ Hugh O’Nial, a northern officer, with twelve hundred of his provincials, maintained the town with such valour, that in the first assault two thousand of the besiegers were lost; and Cromwell determined rather to starve, than force the city to submission. Harassed and enfeebled by delay, he made the most pressing instances to lord Broghill to hasten to his assistance. On the other hand, Ormond laboured indefatigably to succour the garrison. Notwithstanding the infatuated obstinacy of the commissioners of trust, who defeated all his attempts, he prevailed on lord Roche, a person of considerable power in the south, to collect a body of troops for the relief of Clonmell; but these were encountered and defeated by lord Broghill. The Romish bishop of Ross, who had been particularly active in raising and animating these unfortunate troops, was taken prisoner in the engagement. A man so distinguished in his

opposition to the parliamentarians could expect no mercy; Broghill, however, promised to spare his life, on condition that he should use his spiritual authority with the garrison of a fort adjacent to the field of battle, and prevail on them to surrender. For this purpose he was conducted to the fort; but the gallant captive, unshaken by the fear of death, exhorted the garrison to maintain their post resolutely against the enemies of their religion and their country, and instantly resigned himself to execution. His enemies could discover nothing in this conduct but insolence and obstinacy, for he was a papist and a prelate.

“ In the mean time, Cromwell was repeatedly called into England, where the alarm of a Scottish invasion rendered his presence absolutely necessary. But his reputation must be considerably impaired, should he abandon his present enterprize; he, therefore, continued to invest Clonmel. After a brave defence of two months, the garrison found their ammunition and provisions totally exhausted, without any prospect of relief. Hugh O’Nial withdrew secretly with his forces, and conducted them to Waterford; while the townsmen treated with the besiegers, and were permitted to surrender the city upon honourable terms on the 18th of May, 1650. Cromwell now resigned his army to the care of Ireton, and in the next week embarked for England.”*

• The specimen of Owen Roe’s troops, exhibited

* Leland.

at Clonmel, under the command of his namesake, shewed the Irish what they might expect from that general at the head of an army; had God inspired them with a proper sense of their danger, and of the most efficacious and natural means of safety.

At the very time of Cromwell's greatest distress, when his army was reduced by sickness and want, and some hopes entertained of his being obliged to abandon his further enterprize on Ireland, "On a sudden, and altogether, all the considerable places in the province of Munster, as Cork, Youghall, Kinsale, Bandon-bridge, Moyallo, and other garrisons, under lord Inchiquin, revolted to the English parliament; and thereby gave them a safe retreat, free passage, and necessary provisions of all they wanted; as likewise harbours for their ships, to bring every thing to them they could desire. This defection, in so fatal a juncture of time, when the straits Cromwell was in by the winter, and want of provisions, had raised the spirits of men; and when they looked upon themselves as like to have at least some hopeful encounter with him, was not a loss, or a blow; but a dissolution of the whole frame of their hopes and designs; and confirmed that spirit of jealousy and animosity in the army, which no dexterity nor interest of the lord lieutenant could extinguish or allay."*

In this manner the only plausible pretence, for inducing the catholics to yoke their necks

* Carte's Ormond.

under a penal code, in compliance to protestants, in order to reconcile them to a junction with the confederates, for his majesty's service, and the preservation of the kingdom, vanished in smoke; and those people, long before suspected of a fanatical taint, and a longing eye to forfeitures, at length threw off the mask. "Immediately after the surrender of Clonmel, Trecrohan, a fort of great consequence, on account of the quantity of stores and artillery there deposited, was reduced, notwithstanding a brave attempt made by lord Castlehaven to relieve it. Huson, the noted republican, had taken Naas, Athy, Maryborough, Castledermot, and other places; Carlow was invested and reduced; Waterford was surrendered by Preston; the strong fort of Duncannon soon shared the same fate. Ireton, not yet prepared for the siege of Limerick, detached Ingoldsby and Sir Hardress Waller, to block it up at a distance, who gained some advantages over detached parties of the Irish, and some adjacent forts. But, having made all provisions for an early campaign, and received some reinforcements from England, he resolved to open the campaign by besieging Limerick. As it was necessary to pierce into Connaught, in order to invest this city on all sides, Sir Charles Coote was directed to advance towards Sligo. The Irish prepared to relieve this place; when Coote, suddenly drawing off his men, passed, with some difficulty, over the Curlew-mountains, and invested Athlone. Clanricarde, embarrassed as he was by faction and opposition, made some efforts to op-

pose him; but, before his forces could be collected, Athlone was taken; and Coote, pursuing his advantage, marched against Galway. The deputy was solicitous to defend this important post; he summoned the earl of Castlehaven to his assistance; but scarcely had this lord marched a few miles, with a detachment of four thousand men, when a party, which he had left to defend a pass over the Shannon, suffered themselves to be overpowered by the enemy, and fled precipitately. His whole army caught the panic, and dispersed with that ease and suddenness usual to the Irish, when indifferent to the cause in which they were engaged, and secure of a retreat among their kinsmen. At the same time, an officer called Fennel, who had been stationed at Killaloe, to defend this passage of the Shannon, abandoned his station, either from treachery or cowardice; so that the English burst rapidly into the western province; and all preparations being made for the attempt on Limerick, Ireton commenced the siege in form.

“ Both the citizens and the clergy had promised all submission to the lord deputy; but, when he proposed to shut himself up in Limerick, and to share their fortune, he was excluded with the same insolence which Ormond had experienced. At the approach of danger indeed, the magistrates deigned to accept some troops, of such number and quality as they chose; and appointed Henry O’Nial, who had so bravely defended Clonmell, to be their nominal governour, reserving all real power to themselves. A con-

stant correspondence was maintained between the besiegers and citizens, by means of those Irish who had compounded and submitted to Ireton. It was industriously suggested, that the independents were by no means uncharitable to popery, or friends to compulsion in matter of religion; and, when the cruel executions of priests and prelates were mentioned, of which every day afforded new instances, these proceedings were imputed entirely to the virulent spirit of the presbyterian party. Such was the influence of these insinuations, and such the division and distraction within the walls, that in three days the citizens proposed to surrender. The bishops and clergy well knew, that Ireton would except several persons from the benefit of any articles, and dreaded that they would be made the first victims of his cruelty. They, therefore, opposed all motions for capitulating with particular zeal; while O'Nial exerted himself against the besiegers, with a spirit worthy of the reputation he had already acquired.

“ In the mean time, lord Muskerry, alarmed at the danger of Limerick, advanced from Kerry with a strong party to its relief. Lord Broghill was detached to oppose him; and, after a sharp engagement resolutely maintained on each side, Muskerry was obliged to retire with considerable loss. Notwithstanding this disappointment, Hugh O'Nial continued to make a brave defence, and in several successful sallies slew considerable numbers of the besiegers. Winter now approached; and the severity of the season, and

sickness of his army, must soon have obliged Ireton to abandon his enterprize, when treachery and sedition proved too powerful for the gallantry of O'Nial. His authority had ever been controuled by the magistrates, and of consequence slighted by his officers. Of these a number assembled tumultuously, and resolved to treat with the enemy, without objecting to any exceptions which might be made of particular persons, with respect to quarter or confiscation. The bishops clamoured against the design of sacrificing them to the fury of the enemy, and thundered an excommunication against the authors of such impious counsel; but, in the hour of terrour, their spiritual authority was utterly neglected. Fennel, who had yielded the pass of Killaloe, at the head of a seditious rabble of soldiers and citizens, seized two of the principal gates. The chief magistrate protected him from the authority of the governour. He turned the cannon on the town, insisted on capitulating, and sent commissioners to Ireton. The garrison were allowed to lay down their arms, and to march out unmolested, the citizens to remove with their effects; twenty-four persons, clergy, soldiers, and inhabitants, were excluded from mercy; and Ireton, now master of the city, executed the severest vengeance on those who had been the most distinguished partizans of the nuncio, and most inveterate opposers of English government. Of all those who had been excepted from mercy, the bishop of Limerick alone escaped. O'Brien, the popish prelate of Emly, was seized and instantly executed.

Wolfe, the friar, who had seditiously excluded the marquis of Ormond from Limerick, now received the just reward of his presumption. With him were led to execution some magistrates, the most turbulent and seditious of the nuncio's faction. Fennel, notwithstanding his services, was tried for several murders and condemned to death. Geoffry Browne, on his return from Brussels, fell into the hands of an enemy, who little regarded his consequence with the Irish, and suffered by the executioner. The brave Hugh O'Nial had so offended by his defence of the city, and so provoked Ireton by his former gallant behaviour at Clonmel, that the gloomy and intractable republican tried him by a court-martial for a conduct which should have recommended him to the esteem of a soldier. O'Nial pleaded, that he had taken no part in the original conspiracy; that he had been invited into Ireland by his countrymen, and ever acted as a fair and honourable enemy. But Ireton was inexorable; and his pliant court shamefully condemned the Irish general to death. Some of the officers, more generous, expostulated with Ireton, and happily subdued his obstinacy: the cause was re-examined, and the court, with difficulty, consented to spare his life.*

Since the opening of this campaign, all the effects of incapacity, treason, or both, appeared in the confusion, disorder and irresoluteness that ensued. The only specimen of valour and mili-

* Leland, Vol. III. B. VI. c. ii. p. 390.

tary ability exhibited was, by Hugh O'Nial. Had the confederates collected their forces, still more numerous than the invaders, under the command of this second O'Nial, they could have done much to save the nation, or at least obtain honorable terms; which, to refuse in that extremity, was a stronger proof of insanity than loyalty. The rest of this war is one continued series of misfortunes on the part of the Irish; painful to relate, and no otherwise interesting, than as it may excite a fruitless compassion for a falling people, whose miseries are no where to be paralleled, except in the history of the Jews.

Meanwhile Ormond, having obtained leave from the fugitive prince of Wales, as soon as he had left the affairs of Ireland quite desperate, embarked for France, on the 9th of December, 1650. On his departure, he substituted the marquis of Clanricarde in his place; a man, perhaps, honest, but mulish and obstinate in the excess of his loyalty, probably the best qualified in Ireland for thwarting any measure, that gave any fair prospect of relief to a people on the brink of destruction.

During these transactions Charles II., proclaimed in Scotland, is invited thither; arrives on the 23d of June, 1650, and submits to the covenant; declares his abhorrence of popery and all superstition; declares his peace with the Irish papists null and void, “a declaration confirmed by him, and acted on, after the restoration;”*

* Ireland.

and thus Ormond's peace, the great bane of Ireland, which divided, and ultimately ruined the Irish, proved to be, what the nuncio, O'Nial, and the most intelligent of the clergy predicted, a specious delusion. Charles, indeed, referred the breach of his peace with the Irish to a free Scotch parliament; which, if they should find fitting, he would find some way of bringing about with honor, i. e. with some appearance of honor.

The catholics of Ireland took alarm at this shocking intelligence; and the bishops appointed a meeting at Jamestown, to consider the state of the nation. There they adopted measures, then too late, which, if put in force while the nuncio was here, and O'Nial in vigor, might have saved the country. The king's disavowal of Glamorgan's treaty, having caused them formerly to enter into a resolution, that in case of a breach or disavowal of the peace, on the part of his majesty or lord lieutenant, they would return to their original confederacy, as the likeliest means to hinder their people from closing with the parliament, "they now fell to deliberate on the most effectual way of putting that resolution in practice; and, at length, determined to recal and withdraw, on the peril of ecclesiastical censure, all those of their communion, from the marquis of Ormond's command." Wherefore, on the 12th of August, 1650, they drew up and signed an excommunication against all such catholics "as should enlist under, feed, help, or adhere to his excellency; or assist him with men, money, or any other supplies whatsoever." To this ex-

communication a limitation was annexed, "that the next general assembly, which was soon to meet at Loughrea, should dispose of it as they thought proper. But that assembly not having met at the appointed time; and fresh and undoubted intelligence arriving daily, that his majesty had taken the covenant, and made void the peace, (the only security that was left them for their religion, liberty, lives and fortunes,) these bishops, on the 15th of September, 1650, published their excommunication in the usual form. At the same time, they unanimously resolved, pursuant to their association-oath, still faithfully to serve the king against the regicides, and to use all the means in their power to hinder their people from assisting them in any respect whatsoever. The sincerity of this resolution appears, by their including in the same censure, all those unnatural patriots, and others of their own flock, that should adhere to these common enemies of God, king, and country; or should any ways help, assist, abet or favour them, by bearing arms for or with them; or by otherwise contributing to them, without urgent necessity."

The marquis of Ormond, though he affected to believe the scandalous declaration of the king at Dumferling a forgery, yet had been privy to, and advised it. So early as the 5th of March, 1648, we find, by a letter from himself, that he understood "the kingdom of Scotland had invited his majesty thither to be crowned; but that he was to secure religion, according to the covenant, before he was to be admitted to govern."

He then says, "if his majesty resolves to consent to that condition, in the most rigid construction of it to himself and his subjects, I doubt not but his immediate going thither is most counsellable."

But he, at the same time, "questioned not but it would be considered, how inconsistent the covenant was with the peace concluded with the Irish, by virtue of the power given him; and that there would be care taken to give that people no apprehension, that they would be broken with, which might drive them to take desperate ways for their safety." In November 1649, he declared, "that he was at no time against the treaty with Scotland; and that much less was he then." In July 1650, "he believed it then appeared, that the treaty was ended, he hoped, in an agreement with the Scots, so that," adds his lordship, "in place of arguments to dispose his majesty to an accord so necessary, as without, or besides it, I see no near hope of his restitution, I shall apply myself to the use to be made of such an accord in this kingdom" (Ireland). And then he proposes, "that himself may be fortified with some gracious declaration from his majesty, subsequent to the agreement of Scotland, in favour of all those (Irish) that had been, and still continued, loyal and affectionate to his service; and he conceived, that, without such a declaration and purpose as to those, his majesty could not acquit himself with honour towards that people; whereof," adds he, "many have perished, and more are likely to do so for their loyalty to the crown."

Dr. Currie, after stating that the generality of Irish catholics disapproved of the ecclesiastical censures passed by the bishops at Jamestown, yet, by contrasting them with the proceedings of the presbytery at Bangor, he has plainly shewn, that they were much more excuseable than them.

“ None censured the congregation at Jamestown more severely than the presbyterians in Ulster; yet none had so little right to censure it. For that congregation only followed the example that was set them the year before, by the presbytery of Bangor; with this difference, that the former, as we have seen, had some provocation given them, which the latter could not pretend.

“ For on the conclusion of the peace in 1648, the king having sent a commission to Hugh, viscount Montgomery, of Ards, to command all the forces within that province, his lordship thought it necessary to signify to his majesty's subjects of Ulster his investiture with that commission, and accordingly published a declaration, July 4th, 1649, for that purpose.

“ A presbytery was thereupon convened at Bangor, July 7th, in which a declaration was drawn up, containing several virulent reflections on his lordship. He is therein charged, among other things, “ with lifting up his hand against them; with betraying the covenant; with owning king Charles II.; with cloathing himself with a commission from him; with receiving commands from the marquis of Ormond, and joining with malignants, who blasphemed the covenant. For this cause, as ambassadors of

Christ, we beseech the people, in his stead, not to join hands to such a course; not to join in executing such a commission, by serving either as officers or soldiers, or they shall wring the dregs of the cup, which the malignants have been drinking these many years past. We do also, in the name of Jesus Christ, warn the people of our charge from all compliance with their ungodly course, either by speaking favourably of them, acknowledging the authority of the present command under the marquis of Ormond and the lord of Ards; by imposing cess for the maintenance of their unlawful power; or by obeying their orders, or paying cess to their army, or supplying them with that which is the sinews of war, money and victuals."

" I have said that the presbytery at Bangor could not pretend such provocation for this outrage on the royal authority, as the congregation at James-town really had; for, by the king's having taken the covenant, the latter were threatened openly with the utter extirpation of their religion; but the presbytery were promised, and assured of the preservation, and extension of theirs. Lord Montgomery, who was himself a zealous presbyterian, solemnly engaged in his declaration, " in the presence of God, that he would use his uttermost endeavours, while he was entrusted with power, to countenance and assist the exercise of their religion, as it was then practised; and likewise, that he would solicit his majesty, and, (as he had good grounds to hope) with success, for the confirmation under his

hand." And, two days before that declaration was issued, lord Inchiquin wrote to the same presbytery, "that he being a well-wisher to the presbyterian government, and honoured with a public trust by his majesty, knew that his majesty was resolved, for their satisfaction, to establish the presbyterian government in them parts; and, he believed, in other parts also of the kingdom. And no man knows," adds his lordship, "whether the whole number of protestants may not agree to embrace it."*

The presbytery of Bangor were downright rebels; the less excusable, as, instead of any cause of complaint against the house of Stuart, they were encouraged and protected in their religion; and were indebted to Charles' father for ample possessions in Ulster, confiscated for their advantage from the antient catholic proprietors. The total defection of the Irish protestants followed not long after this decree of the presbytery, of whom the lieutenant was not the last.

Here we cannot but observe, the favoured sects, whose growth and prosperity were cherished and strengthened by the reigning family, unanimously rebel against them; and the persecuted sect hold out to the highest chivalrous loyalty. We also observe, that the aliens, planted in the north, became the bitter, sworn enemies of the family that planted them there; and that, without that plantation, an Irish rebellion could scarcely be possible. Thus we see the great

* Currie. Rev. Civil Wars in Ire.

moral axiom of divine government fulfilled, "the instruments and objects of crime, shall become the means of its punishment." Had the Stuart family not meddled with the religion of their subjects, nor transplanted antient generation, those merited evils had not befallen them. The reader will also observe, that similar engines were now employed against the catholic English settlers, to those employed by them against the unfortunate antient race. As they had made a tool of the abused authority of religion, to nestle here first; and established as a maxim, that the only method of civilizing the old Irish was, to kill them and take their properties; the same engine of religion was now successfully worked against themselves; and the same means of civilizing them, by murder and robbery, adopted, and acted on. He will observe, that their aversion to the antient race, and dread of their resurgency under a great general, and the revival of their claims to forfeited lands, lost them those acres, for which they would sacrifice country and religion. It cannot fail to be noticed, how dangerous it is to trust a traitor; how punctually Ormond fulfilled all his engagements with the English rebels. First, delivering up to them the king's castle, capital, and other garrisons; and now strengthening their hands, by the accession of all the forces under his command; how shamefully he tricked Clarrickard, in leaving him nominal deputy, destitute of means, while he transmitted the king's troops auxiliaries to the enemy. But it is only after the restoration of Charles, that the

reward and object of all this treachery shall be seen in the clearest point of view.

Every one will be surprised at the fanatical loyalty of the Irish, to a family, not only ungrateful, but tyrannical and treacherous towards them. The solicitude of the English settlers, who were now the leading part of the nation, for their acres, will not singly explain this moral phenomenon; nor their apprehensions from the claims of the antient proprietors; though they go a good way towards it. The torrent of rebellion, among their sworn enemies, must have produced a counter current of fanatical loyalty among them; which, as an indulged, favourite passion, overleaped all the mounds of common sense and political prudence. It is impossible to account any other way, for their rebellion against the first law of God and nature, self-preservation.

The declaration of Charles II. at Dumferling, justified the Irish nation in seeking for another ruler. Far less provocation produced the rebellion of England and Scotland; led one king to the block, and expelled another. In the decline of their affairs, they adopted the tardy resolution of seeking foreign aid; and, in their negotiations, were, as usual, dilatory, divided, irresolute. Were the duke of Lorrain ever so serious in his offers of protection, it could not reasonably be expected, that he would hazard his person, his forces, and treasure, to conquer a kingdom for another person; and, to bar all hope of his aid, the marquis of Clanrickarde published his protest against the treaty concluded with him, by

lord Taaffe and Sir G. Browne. The motives of this alliance we find in the letters of lord Taaffe to the lord lieutenant.

May it please your excellency, I were unworthy the trust, reposed in me, and the many other favours, I received from you, should I omit with all freedom and clearness, to afford your excellency a true account of the countries and princes, from whom any thing was to be expected for the supply of Ireland; whereby your excellency may be the better able to resolve, what is to be done upon the commission, sent by the legate, employed by his highness the duke of Lorrain.

That I may the better do it, I shall set down, according to my information and observation, the condition of his majesty, and the kings of France and Spain, in reference to the parliament of England; so that it may appear what is to be expected from them for your assistance, towards the maintenance of a war.

Your excellency, I presume, knows that his majesty, at his first coming into Scotland, was forced by those of the kirk, to take the covenant, and national league and covenant; wherein amongst other things, he hath solemnly promised to extirpate the catholic religion and prelacy, and to settle the presbyterian government in all his kingdoms. The kirk not content with this, put from him most of his party except the duke of Buckingham, my lord Wilmot, and some few others, who they believed were favourers of their cause; after which they forced his majesty yet further to make a declaration, wherein

he doth, amongst other things, confirm his former promise of rooting the catholics out of his dominions, disannulls the peace made with the Irish, and recalls all commissions, granted to any amongst them. Soon after they lost a battle; and a strong party, under the command of Middleton, declared for the king, and that he would receive, without distinction, all persons, that would assist in his service. His majesty being displeased at the harsh usage of the council of state, attempted to have gone to Middleton; and being in his way, a discovery was made by some intrusted; whereupon colonel Montgomery by command pursued him, who overtaking of him, prevailed with him to return to Sterling, where he is attended with strong guards.

Your excellency may perceive the little hopes, that a party so divided should be able to afford us any succours: and if they should prove victorious, and have power to keep his majesty in the same awe, they now do; nothing but our destruction is to be expected from them. The expectation of assistance from France, is every whit as hopeless.

I have, during my stay there, made application to the cardinal, which was strengthened by her majesty's recommendation, and could never by any solicitation, procure so much as the promise of supplies for the publick; only some overtures of conditions for some particular persons, in case they should bring men to their service: and even those also were so coldly prosecuted, that I perceived it was rather with design to stay me from

capitulating with the Spaniard, than any intention of agreeing with me. Since my coming hither, they have treated with an agent from the parliament, and are dispatching agents to them for the continuance of a peace; so as I believe they will be so far from affording us relief, that if the parliament insist upon it, they will deny access to all Irish ships to any of their ports.

The Spaniards have yet gone farther; they have already concluded a league, which some say is offensive and defensive, with the parliament; neither will they be drawn to break a capitulation, so newly made with such useful confederates, for any interest of the king's or the Irish. They have declared them a state, and as such are to receive an ambassador from them, who is daily expected in these countries.

The duke of Lorrain when I first moved him by letter, for concluding the treaty set on foot by his agent, he waved it; but my uncle George Dillon, before my coming hither, made him incline to afford us relief; and as soon as I intimated unto him the condition of that nation, he was pleased to advance five thousand pounds for their supply, upon such conditions, as is exprest in the assurance I gave him; a copy whereof, and the money, I sent by my uncle George: and his highness further promises, that if he be invited, and that the command of that kingdom (with subordination to the king) be put into his hands, he will employ his men, treasure, shipping, and person, in reducing thereof; which your lordship

will see more clearly exprest by the commission sent with his legate, to treat, and conclude with that nation.

I shall humbly offer my sense to your excellency, concerning this important affair: I conceive the Irish are not able for any long time to preserve what they possess, much less recover what they have lost, without foreign assistance. And if the parliament prevail, you will not only lose all liberty and fortune at present, but also want ground to hope, for the recovery of them; for if either presbyterian or independent prevail, their animosity against us is equally violent: so as our king being not able to assist us, in order to his and our own preservation; it is necessary we make our recourse to the most probable means of preservation.

His highness upon all occasions hath exprest a singular affection to his majesty, for the advancement of his interest, and therefore is not to be suspected to have any sinister ends, not suitable to his former proceedings. To conclude, that there is no possibility of his majesty's subsistence in Scotland, but by continuing a war in Ireland, or recovering of it, which, without foreign assistance, you are not able to do.

And no prince of Christendom, is either willing or able, to afford (as things now stand) but the duke of Lorrain; who besides the men and money, he intends to expend on the land service, will join a gallant fleet to his majesty's, who in all probability will be the masters of the sea: and resolves to engage so clearly, that no distinction

of religion shall prejudice any honest man, in employment, or fortune.

My lord, I cannot but think it a great blessing of God, upon that kingdom, and by consequence on his majesty, to have a powerful prince, in this low ebb of our fortunes, engaged with us; who is able vigorously to prosecute the war (besides the benefit of his own conduct, wherein he is thought to exceed all men) will employ such a sum of money, as no prince of Europe hath, or can raise: I am very hopeful he will be very instrumental in restoring his majesty to his rights, and render Ireland in a more splendid condition of honour, wealth, and trade, than it hath been of a long time.

I have here given your excellency a clear account of my sense, touching the duke of Lorrain's resolution; and do humbly desire, that your excellency will receive the person employed by him, in the quality of a stout, pious, discreet gentleman; and what commands your excellency be pleased to impose on me, shall be with all chearfulness pursued by your excellency's most faithful and humble servant, Taafe.*

May it please your excellency, I did not enter into a treaty with the duke of Lorrain, without her majesty's approbation, and letters of recommendation. It hath been debated, what his designs should be, in engaging so freely, in so expensive and hazardous a war; and concluded, that although he did propose to be absolute in

* From Brussels, the 3rd of January, 1650.

that kingdom, that it was fit all encouragement should be given unto him to attempt it, considering that the most powerful instruments he intends to make use of, are the Irish; not having followers of his own, able to master us. And if at any time he should attempt it, its in ourselves to prevent it; besides that, there is no danger we can run by his means, in any kind of degree, equal to that of the parliament, whose animosity against us is sufficiently visible.

It was in debate, whether the king's consent should be demanded, in this affair; and resolved, that, in the condition the king is, 'tis neither safe for him to authorise it, nor own it: but an express is sent unto him, to advertise him of the matter; and his connivance is all I expect or desire. I am now upon a design of taking in the isle of Guernsey, and have engaged my lord Gerrald, and Daniel O Neile in it; the duke of Lorrain helps me to shipping, men, provision, and all other necessaries. I have purchased an indifferent interest in his highness, insomuch, as he trusts me with the providing and agreeing for ships, all manner of ammunition and arms.

If your lordship keeps but life in the business of Ireland, and sends encouragement to his highness, I am confident (by God's permission) we shall be all happy. My lord, I am witness of your courage, I have knowledge of your extraordinary abilities, which make you capable of the greatest employments; and am so great and just a lover of your person, as there lives not that man, whose honour and prosperity, I wish more

happiness unto; and did I not think, that your consenting to the duke of Lorrain's preceding you in command, did contribute mainly to make you so, I should not advise it.

Happily, your own inclination and the advice of others, may prevail with your excellency, to withdraw yourself into some of these countries. It is an insolency in me, (considering your own vast judgment, able to direct you in the most intricate affairs) to offer my sense: but in regard of my affection, I shall presume to tell you, how subject you will be to all manner of inconveniencies. As for employment, you will get none worthy of you; as for friends, you will find none, but those that are poor; and as for money, you may not expect any. I am a better shifter, than your excellency will ever be, and yet was like to starve at Paris, though every person saluted me with *vostre tres humble serviteur jusqu' à la mort*. Without fooling, there is no such place to live in as Ireland. I pray, my continue me in your favour, as the humblest of your excellency's servants, Taaffe.*

Father George Dillon's proposals on the behalf of the duke of Lorrain were, to return thanks to his highness, the duke of Lorrain, for his offers and desires to preserve this kingdom.

That his highness (out of his zeal to the catholic Roman religion, in imitation of his predecessors and through his singular affection to his majesty of Great Britain, and for the pre-

* From Brussels, the 5th of January, 1650.

ervation of the kingdom of Ireland, and his majesty's interest therein) may be pleased to take into his protection, the confederates of the said kingdom, and all such as will adhere unto them, and to free them from the oppressions of the rebellious sectaries of England and Scotland, that oppose his majesty.

To the end, that his highness may, with the greater alacrity and courage, undertake so great and heroic a work ; that his heirs and successors shall be accepted as protectors and preservers of the said kingdom, with as large and ample power, fidelity, and obedience, as by all laws can be due to protectors royal.

That sufficient caution, and security, may be given unto his highness, his heirs, and successors, for what expences and disbursements he will make ; and that therein the cities and ports of Gallway and Limerick be engaged.

That his highness be invited to come over in person, and take the protection of the kingdom upon him ; or if any occasion retard, that he may send over such supplies of men and money, as may probably recover the kingdom.

That the lord Taaffe may have as ample commission, to treat and conclude with his highness, as his highness's ambassador hath to this kingdom.

To these proposals the marquis of Clanricard could not be induced to agree. The treaty was removed to Brussels, and on the second of July, 1652, the following articles were entered into.

Articles of agreement, concluded upon between his royal highness Charles IV. by the grace of God, duke of Lorrain, &c. and Theobald lord viscount Taaffe, Nicholas Plunkett knight, and Geoffry Browne, Esq. deputies authorised on the behalf of the kingdom and people of Ireland.

1. His highness the duke of Lorrain shall be chosen, taken and esteemed the true and royal protector of Ireland (and this to pass to his heirs and successors;) by this title all power and authority of administering the kingdom, and all other things duly belonging to a royal protector, being conferred upon him according to the conditions particularly to be declared in the ensuing articles.

2. And first of all, whereas in the treaty the cause of religion is chiefly concerned, it seemed fit to the agreeers to begin the whole business, from imploring his holiness's benediction and fatherly help; which help as they hope shall not be wanting unto them, neither in spiritual and temporal ways; so they protest themselves most constantly to remain in the perpetual obedience and faith of the apostolic see and his holiness's.

3. And whereas to the reasons of his highness's taking upon him of this protection, that at length was added, that he should join his help in prosecuting, by war the enemies of the king of Great Britain, and assist him as much as in him lyeth; it is so far from his intention to take any thing from the royal right in the said kingdom of Ireland, that he rather declares himself ready, after having restored religion and the kingdom to their

right state, to resign all his authority into his majesty's hands, being first reimbursed of all his charges expended in that business.

4. That those ends may be compassed, the obedience and fealty of the aforesaid people and kingdom is to be given to his highness free from the superiority of any other; as his highness on his part will not be wanting to expel from thence heretics of religion, and rebels to the king, as also to recover and defend the interests of the faithful subjects of this kingdom.

5. The chief command of the army in the same kingdom, both at present and in future, the raising of men, and all other things in order to the management of the war shall be directed to his highness's sole person and appointment, or if any other professing catholic religion whom in his absence he will be pleased at his own choice to substitute in his place, secluding all other whosoever.

6. Also it is forethought and provided on both sides, that his highness shall not bring in any novelties to the kingdom, cities and places entrusted to him by way of caution, contrary to the securities, privileges, immunities, properties, goods, possessions, estates, or in any way to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, but shall preserve the fruition of all these entire and whole to the faithful subjects of this kingdom; reserving notwithstanding to himself the power of remedying any thing that may hereafter happen to the prejudice of the commonwealth.

7. As for the administration of justice, and other civil affairs, that likewise is agreed upon,

that without any innovation all is to proceed according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and form of civil government instituted by his majesty, the governor, or assembly.

8. The manner of holding assemblies shall be the same that formerly hath been, unless through complaints raised against the government, or other urgent occasions, some extraordinary thing must be done. In which cases, according to the antient rights and privileges of the kingdom, the calling of the said assembly shall be in the power or choice of his highness.

9. After that God shall be pleased to grant the wished success in this kingdom to religion, and his highness's arms, if the assembly shall think fit to send aid to his majesty, against his rebellious enemies in his other kingdoms, his highness without delay will fix his mind on that result.

10. But if haply through urgent necessity of his affairs he may be forced to defer his own going into Ireland, it shall be in his choice and pleasure to substitute in his place some man of catholic devotion, and able to undergo such a charge, independent of any whosoever; who also, if his highness will be so pleased, shall be received to the participation of all the councils concerning either the state, or civil government, in equal right with the rest of the counsellors legally constituted,

11. The cities, castles, and possessions to be recovered from the enemy, shall return to their right owners constantly persisting on the catholic party under his highness's command; in whose

power it shall be to garrison the said and other forts and places of strength, at his pleasure, as he shall judge it expedient for the nation's and his own security. Which garrisons, and the rest of the forces, nay all the army, shall receive their pay, both out of the kingdom's revenues as far as they will go, and as a supply out of his highness's own treasury; caution being given for the repayment of these monies, as also of the charges which have and shall be expended to the like uses: but enemies and condemned persons goods shall be disposed towards the said expences of the war, or to the reward of such as behaved themselves stoutly for religion and the kingdom, as to his highness shall be thought just, the general assembly being first consulted thereupon.

12. Besides the twenty thousand pounds English, already laid out for the use of the kingdom, his highness will give such sums of money, and such plenty of arms, shipping, ammunition and warlike provision, and victualling, as shall not be above his ability, nor beneath the necessity of continuing the war, and recovering the kingdom.

13. For the repayment of all which money, as well principal as the yearly profit thereof reduced to a whole sum, the whole nation of Ireland shall stand bound to his highness even to the last payment: and for caution to the same, the under-named cities, viz. Gallway, Limerick, Sligo, Athlone with the castle, and the royal fort of Duncannon, if it shall be recovered from the enemy, shall remain consigned to the hands and possession of his highness, his heirs, and succes-

sors, until full and entire satisfaction be made, as is above expressed. Moreover this on both sides is agreed upon, that the aforesaid cities, forts, and castles, according to their duty to his highness, his heirs, and successors, shall not, upon any pretence whatsoever, deny to admit the garrisons to be sent by them when need requires; and shall by virtue of this present treaty, yield them all prompt obedience. And when the collections are to be made for payment to his highness of that money, as well principal as yearly profit reduced to a sum, the taxes and cuttings shall be made upon the goods and substances of private men; and that to be distributed, according to every man's share in equal proportion, and to be qualified by the general assembly's direction.

14. And the afore-named deputies and his highness will agree upon some certain way, whereby a true and exact account may be made of charges which he shall be at for the good of the kingdom, by appointing certain persons to that task, to be notwithstanding altered by the general assembly, if so they please.

Lastly, that neither his highness shall conclude any thing of truce, cessation of arms, or peace, without the consent of the deputy and assembly; nor likewise the deputy and assembly, without his.

In witness whereof, his highness the said duke of Lorrain hath set his hand and seal, July 2, the year of our salvation 1651.

Ch. Lorrain.

Locus Sigilli.

A. Geoffry : S.

On receipt of this treaty, the marquis of Clanricard took effectual measures to prevent it taking effect. He reproved the deputies; sent his protest to the duke of Lorrain. A new treaty was attempted by the duke of York; but the affairs of Ireland were become desperate, and the duke of Lorrain declined his interference. From the dismal situation of the catholics at that time, it must be concluded, that a better or more justifiable project could not have been thought of. "They* were then reduced to slavery and beggary, by the English rebels; many thousands of them murdered, and the rest deprived of their estates. So that the question will turn upon this, whether the catholics of Ireland, in this wretched situation, and in utter despair of ever seeing the monarchy restored, for the preservation of which they had suffered so much, were to be blamed for calling in a foreign prince of their own religion, who had a considerable army to support them, rather than submit to so infamous an usurper as Cromwell, or such a bloody and ignominious conventicle, as the rump-parliament! Many protestants, both dissenters and conformists, who have been conversant, in the history of those times, have freely confessed, that, considering the miserable condition the Irish were then in, they could not have thought of a braver or more virtuous attempt; by which they might have been instruments of restoring the lawful monarch, at least, to the recovery of England and Scotland,

* Swift's Works.

from those betrayers, and sellers, and murderers of his royal father."

Ireton lived not to share in the plunder of this unfortunate country, but was carried off by the plague, which raged so dreadfully, as in one summer to carry off 17,000 persons in the city of Dublin alone. His death yielded no respite. Ludlow, his successor, prosecuted the war with savage barbarity. He relates, "that being on his march, an advanced party found two of the rebels; one of whom, says he, was killed by the guard before I came up; the other was saved, and being brought before me, I asked him, if he had a mind to be hanged? And he only answered, if you please. So insensibly stupid, adds he, were many of these poor creatures." Also, that he found some people retired within a hollow rock "which was so thick that he thought it impossible to dig it down upon them, and therefore resolved to reduce them by smoak. After some of his men had spent most part of the day in endeavouring to smother those within by fire placed placed at the mouth of the cave, they withdrew the fire; and the next morning supposing the Irish to be made incapable of resistance by the smoak, some of them crawled into the rock; but one of the Irish, with a pistol, shot the first of his men, by which he found the smoak had not taken the designed effect; because though a great smoak went into the cavity of the rock, yet it came out again at other crevices; upon which he ordered those places to be closely stopped, and another smoak to be made; and the fire was

continued till about midnight; then taken away, that the place might be cool enough for his men to enter the next morning; at which time they went in armed with back, breast, and head-piece, found the man, who had fired the pistol, dead; and put about fifteen to the sword; but brought about four or five out alive, with priests' robes, a crucifix, chalice, and other furniture of that kind (but no arms.) Those, within, preserved themselves by laying their heads close to a waterfall, that ran through the rock. We found two rooms in the place, one of which was large enough to turn a pike."* The fate of the unfortunate persons brought out, 'tis not difficult to ascertain.

Galway, the only town now in opposition to the regicides, was invested by Coote, in May, 1652, and almost immediately surrendered. The detached parties of the confederates, in succession, then endeavoured to obtain the best terms possible. Col. Fitzpatrick, O'Dwyer, Clanrickard, Muskerry, &c. capitulated; and forty thousand of the survivors were transported, "to fill all the armies of Europe with complaints of his (Cromwell's) cruelty, and admiration of their valour."† In vain lord Muskerry endeavoured to obtain the free exercise of their religion. "We refused," says Ludlow, "to oblige ourselves to any thing in that particular; declaring only that it was neither the principle nor the practise of the authority which we served, to impose our way of

* Ludlow's Memoirs.

† Dalrymp. Mem. of Gt. Brit. vol. i. part ii. p. 267.

worship upon any by violent means." There is something so notoriously false, and consequently so very impudent in this assertion, that one wonders it could be made use of by a man of Ludlow's rank; and much more that he should publish it in his memoirs. But a spirit of enthusiasm, of which no body was ever more fully possessed than this violent republican, covers all imperfections, and sanctifies or annihilates the grossest crimes. Was not one of the chief ends of the rebellion which they engaged in, after the king had given up his prerogative, and the liberties of the people were secured, to overthrow the church of England, and set up Presbyterianism in its room? Did they not suppress the liturgy in England and Ireland by force, turn out the clergy, establish their directory, and oblige every one to take the covenant in order to impose their own way of worship? In flat contradiction, to him therefore it must be said, that both the principles and the practice of the authority which he served were to impose their way of worship by violent means."*

Commissioners were now sent by the English regicides, to arrange the civil business. At their invitation, locust-swarms, of all sorts, and sexes, flocked from England, to inhabit a country, now depopulated, by pestilence, famine and the sword of these merciless ravagers. Ireland was surveyed. The best land rated at four shillings an acre, and some so low as a penny. The soldiers had

* Warner. Civil Wars in Ire.

their portions by lot. The adventurers had whole baronies given to them in gross. No men had so great shares as they who had been instruments to murder the king. What lands they deemed unprofitable were given gratis; which amounted to 605,670 acres.* Thus, except part of Connaught, was the whole kingdom divided between the soldiers and adventurers for money. "It cannot be imagined, in how easy a method, and with what peaceable formality, that whole great kingdom was taken from the just owners and proprietors, and divided among those who had no other right to it, but that they had power to keep it. In less than two years after lord Clanricard left Ireland, this new government seemed to be perfectly established; insomuch that there were many buildings erected for ornament, as well as use; orderly and regular plantations of trees, fences and enclosures raised throughout the kingdom; purchases made by one from the other, at very valuable rates; and jointures settled upon marriages; and all the conveyances and settlements executed, as in a kingdom at peace within itself, and where no doubt could be made of the validity of titles."†

The act of the 27th of Elizabeth, by proclamation from these regicide commissioners, was made of force in Ireland, and ordered to be most strictly put in execution. By it, "every Romish priest was deemed guilty of rebellion, and sentenced to be hanged until he was half dead; then

* Carte's Ormond.

† Life of Clarend. vol. ii. p. 177-8.

to have his head cut off, and his body cut in quarters; his bowels to be drawn out and burnt; and his head fixed upon a pole in some public place." The punishment of those who entertained a priest, was, by the same act, confiscation of their goods and chattels, and the ignominious death of the gallows. This edict was renewed the same year, with the additional cruelty of making even the private exercise of the Roman catholic religion, a capital crime. Many shocking examples of the strict execution of these barbarous edicts were daily seen, insomuch, that "neither the Israelites were more cruelly persecuted by Pharaoh, nor the innocent infants by Herod, nor the christians by Nero, or any of the other pagan tyrants, than were the Roman catholics of Ireland, at that fatal juncture, by these savage commissioners."*

"The same price (five pounds sterling) was set by these commissioners on the head of a Romish priest, as on that of a wolf; the number of which latter was then very considerable in Ireland; and although the profession and character of a Romish priest could not, one would think, be so clearly ascertained, as the species of a wolf, by the mere inspection of their heads thus severed from their bodies, yet the bare asseveration of the beheaders was, in both cases, equally credited and rewarded by these commissioners. So inveterate was their malice and hatred to that order of men!"†

* Morrison. Thren. p. 14.

† Currie. Rev. Civil Wars in Ire,

A new tribunal, high courts of justice, was erected in different parts of the kingdom, for the trial of the so called rebels and malignants. The first of these sat in Kilkenny. From the iniquitous and bloody sentences frequently pronounced in these courts, they were commonly called Cromwell's slaughter-houses; "for no articles were pleadable in them: and against a charge of things said to be done twelve years before, little or no defence could be made; and that the cry was made of blood, aggravated with expressions of so much horror, and the no less daunting aspect of the court, quite confounded the amazed prisoners, so that they came like sheep to the slaughter."*

"Cromwell and his council, finding the utter extirpation of the nation, which they had intended, to be in itself very difficult, and to carry in it somewhat of horror, that made some impression upon the stone-hardness of their own hearts, after so many thousands destroyed by the sword, fire, famine, and the plague; and after so many thousands transported into foreign parts, found out the following expedient of transplantation, which they called an act of grace. There was a large tract of land, even to the half of the province of Connaught, that was separated from the rest, by a long and large river, and which, by the plague and many massacres, remained almost desolate. Into this place and circuit of land, they required all the Irish to retire by a certain day, under the

* Hist. of Independency.

penalty of death; and all who after that time, should be found in any other part of the kingdom, man, woman, or child, might be killed, by any body who saw or met them. The land within this circuit, the most barren in the kingdom, was, out of the grace and mercy of the conquerors, assigned to those of the nation who were enclosed, in such proportions as might with great industry preserve their lives; and to those persons from whom they had taken great quantities of land in other provinces, they assigned greater proportions within this precinct. And that they might not be exalted with this merciful donative, it was a condition that accompanied this their accommodation, that they should all give releases of their former rights and titles to the land that was taken from them, in consideration of what was now assigned them; and so they should for ever bar themselves, and their heirs, from laying claim to their old inheritance.

“ In this deplorable condition, and under this consternation, they found themselves obliged to accept, or submit to, the hardest conditions of their conquerors; and so signed such conveyances and releases as were prepared for them, that they might enjoy those lands which belonged to other men. And by this means, the plantation of Connaught, as they called it, was finished, and all the Irish nation was enclosed within that circuit; the rest of Ireland being left to the English. Some few estates were left to the old lords and just proprietors, who being all protestants (for no Roman catholics were admitted) had either

never offended them, or had served them, or had made composition for their delinquencies, by the benefit of some articles.”*

“The gentlemen were thus transplanted, without cattle to stock that land, without seed to sow, or plough to manure it; without servants, without shelter, without house or oabbin to dwell in, or defend them from the wolves, or from robbers, or from heat or cold, or other injuries of the air. And the miserable Irish so transplanted, must not, even in those small tracts allotted for them, within the narrow precincts of some parks in three or four counties of Connaught, and Thomond, pitch in any place, or fix their dwelling houses, or take any lands within two miles of the Shannon, four of the sea, and four of Galway, the only city within their precinct: they must not enter this town, or any other corporate or garrisoned place, without particular orders, at their peril, even of being taken by the throat.”†

On the 26th of September, 1653, the English parliament passed an act, by which their distribution of Ireland was pretended to be confirmed, and which declared, that the rebellion in Ireland was at an end,

It was during this calamitous period, that poverty had recourse to various rude means of husbandry and œconomy, very different from the modes practised in more fortunate and civilized periods. Then it was, that horses were made to draw the plough by the tail. That it was not

* Clarend. Life, vol. ii. p. 116, 117.

† Walsh's Reply to a person of Quality, p. 145.

prior to this, is clear from the name of a plow, in the native tongue, and of its tackling, Seise-reach, vulg. Seistreach; meaning, six horses to the plow. 'Threshing corn with fiery flail.' The scarcity of timber, by the burning of forests for hunting the unfortunate natives therefrom, obliged great numbers, at a distance from bogs, to use the dung of animals for fuel, and for soap too; and the general distress brought slid cars in use, instead of wheels. These rude implements have been recorded, by the very enemies who compelled their victims to have recourse to these poor means, as so many proofs of their original barbarity. The vestiges of Irish learning were not yet quite extinguished, by these accumulating disasters. O'Flaherty, Lynch, Colgan, Ward, Keating, and some others, left several testimonials of the national taste for learning; and while the nation groaned under the cruel bondage of their merciless enemies, the exiles, in foreign service, supported the antient reputation of their nation for valour.

Declared protector of the commonwealth, Oliver Cromwell, by a form called the Instrument of government, summoned a parliament, to which thirty members were to be returned from Ireland. The commissioners wrote to him, "that the condition of Ireland is so waste, and desolate, and uninhabited, and the parts that are inhabited so unsettled, that they could not present to him, as he desires, any way or course at that time for election of members in that nation to serve in the ensuing parliament." To this answer an order

was returned, that the members should be sent. Fleetwood used his power, as all ministers have ever done, to get a majority elected on the side of the court.*

The commissioners were now dismissed, and Fleetwood appointed deputy for three years. With this appointment came instructions “to improve the interest of the commonwealth of England in the dominion of Ireland, for the advancement of religion in that country, and suppressing idolatry, popery, superstition, and prophaness: to give encouragement, and provide competent maintenance to all such persons as are of pious life, and as they shall find qualified with gifts for preaching the gospel, by way of stipend out of the public revenue: to execute all laws in force against papists, and popish recusants: to consider of all due ways for the advancement of learning, and training up youth in piety and literature, and settling a maintenance for proper persons to be employed in it, as far as the present affairs of Ireland will admit: to execute all the acts and ordinances of parliament now in force in this commonwealth against delinquent, malignant pluralists, and scandalous ministers in Ireland: to take care that justice be administered according to the laws and constitutions of England: to see that no popish or other malignant persons be employed in the administration of the laws, or execution of justice, nor practise as counsellors, attornies, sollicitors, or schoolmasters: to put in

* Warner. Hist. Irish Reb.

execution all the acts of parliament now in force in this commonwealth for sequestering all forfeited estates of popish malignants, archbishops, deans, and chapters: to set all these lands and benefices, for any time not exceeding seven years, on such term as they shall judge proper: to settle the customs and excise: to manage the treasury for the best advantage of the state: to take care of the public stores: to sit and vote at councils of war for the equal distribution and regulation of quarters for the standing forces: to lessen by all proper methods the public charge of the commonwealth: to transmit an estimate of the revenue to his highness and council forthwith, and once after every year, with a representation of what will conduce to the improvement of it: to use the best means for the recovery of any part that hath been concealed and for an improvement of the whole: to cause an exact survey of the crown and church lands, and of the forests and other forfeited lands undisposed of: to dispense with the orders of the late parliament and council of state for the transportation of the Irish into Connaught, if it should be for the public service: all temporal offices to be disposed of by the deputy, except those reserved to his highness's disposal."

To strengthen himself in England, Cromwell ordered 2000 foot and 300 horse from Ireland. The privates, unwilling to leave their plantations, mutinied, and in Fleetwood's presence refused to be embarked; alledging, "that they had listed themselves to fight against the rebels here, and

in consequence of that obligation were ready to obey all commands that should be given: but they knew not against whom they should be ordered to fight in England, possibly against some of their best friends." A court martial was immediately called. The ringleader shot; a company cashiered. The rest embarked.

His second son, Henry, Cromwell now sent over. He was received in Dublin, in 1655, with great pomp. Had he arrived earlier, or been suffered to follow his generous disposition, the Irish, at that period would have had less grievous causes of complaint than were given them. To his equity and influence only it was owing, that the people of Ireland were not more oppressed by the protector's council, than they had been already. The assessments which they paid were above a fourth part as much as all England and Wales; which he told Oliver in one of his letters, was ten times more than in due proportion they ought to be, and that they paid incomparably more other charges, owing to the devastation made in the civil war, than any other of the three nations.* Of his integrity and disinterestedness, he gave many signal proofs, during his administration; but none so signal, or indeed so unprecedented, as that which appeared at the conclusion of it. "For upon his recall from Ireland, although he had held the government of that kingdom four years, he was not master of money enough, after all, to carry him back to England;

* Warner. Hist. Irish Reb.

and was, therefore, under the necessity to crave some from thence for that purpose.”*

The Quakers, about this time, made their first appearance in Ireland. The deputy and council ordered the mayor of Dublin, the governors of Cork and Kinsale, and all justices of the peace, ‘to apprehend all quakers lately come from England into that nation, to examine their names and places of abode in England, on what occasions they were come to Ireland, by whom invited over, whether they belong to or are sent by any church or gathered people in England, what testimonials or recommendations they brought from any godly people or known church in England, and to cause them to be kept in custody till their answers were returned to the council.’ The like order was sent to the governor of Waterford, and the justices of the peace in that neighbourhood, with this addition, that ‘they should ship them off for Bristol, or such places as should be most convenient for their respective places of abode.’ In a few days after, there was an order of council to the mayor of Dublin, ‘that all the quakers in custody should be shipped off with the first conveniency for Chester, with a direction to the mayor of that city to send them to their respective places of abode, and to exhort them to live orderly, and to make honest provision for themselves and families.’ But to say the truth, the quakers were a much more orderly inoffensive people in their principles of government and religion, than the

* Warner. Hist. Irish Reb.

wild and fiery zealots who treated them with this severity.*

On the death of Oliver, in August, 1658, his eldest son, Richard, succeeded. Congratulatory addresses, from all parts, poured in upon him; but, in 1659, compelled by the army to dissolve the parliament, though he continued to bear the title of protector, he was no otherwise regarded than as a private person.

The new English interest now declared for Charles; to whom Coote sent an express, to Holland, tendering his obedience. Dublin, Galway, Athlone, Limerick, Youghall, Clonmel, Carlow, Drogheda, were seized, the governors imprisoned, by Coote and his adherents. Charles was on the eve of embarking for Ireland, when an express from Monck invited him to England.

As soon as the king was proclaimed, the adventurers and soldiers, now in possession of the forfeited lands, sent commissioners to London, with loyal addresses to the king, a present in money, and gifts in hand or promise, for his attendants, and those who possessed influence. These represented to the English parliament, already predisposed to believe the worst of the Irish, that they were rising out into a new rebellion. Accordingly, shortly after the king's arrival in London, at the representation of both houses, he published a proclamation against the Irish, on the 3d of June, 1660, to repress these supposed disturbances. It stated that, by the advice of the

* Warner. Hist. Irish Reb.

lords and commons, he ' held it his duty to God, and the whole protestant interest, to command, publish and declare, that all Irish rebels, other than such as by articles had liberty to reside in his dominions, and had not forfeited the benefit thereof, that should resort to England, or Ireland, should be forthwith apprehended, and proceeded against as rebels and traitors; and that the adventurers, soldiers and others, who were on the 1st of January last past, in possession of any of the manors, castles, houses, or lands of any of the said Irish rebels, should not be disturbed in their possessions, till either legally evicted by due course of law, or till his majesty, by the advice of parliament, had taken further order therein."

They had by this time got Cromwellian lords justices, lord Broghill, now earl of Orrery, and Sir Charles Coote, now earl of Mountrath. They had also got a Cromwellian house of commons, all ready to divide the spoil of the nation among themselves; and that no Roman catholic should be present, even at their debates about the distribution of the forfeitures, they voted, that no man was fit to sit in that house, who had not taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy.

The reports of plots and conspiracies, an old engine of Machiavelian policy, were played off against the sufferers, but without judgment or success. They were too ridiculous to gain credit. Meetings of papists at mass-houses! One man had a rusty sword, and another had a horse to ride, for business or pleasure! But chancellor Eustace took effectual means of detecting the

fraud. “ He directed the judges, in their circuits, to cause the matter to be enquired into by the grand juries of the several counties, through which they passed. The finding of these juries was alike every where; there being a great calm in all places; no preparations for rising, nor so much as a rumour of any new troubles. Nothing could be more frivolous and void of proof, than the paper which the commons drew up on this occasion, and presented to the lords justices; who yet thought fit to send it, inclosed in their letters, to secretary Nicholas, signifying at the same time their opinion, that it would be destructive to the English interest, to admit the Irish to trade and settle in corporate towns; or to allow the Roman catholic lawyers to practise in their profession; both which, however, had been positively allowed by his majesty’s letters.”*

The whole body of Irish catholics was justly alarmed at the false calumnies circulated against them; and desirous of subscribing a protestation of their loyalty. Whereupon Walsh, an Irish franciscan, became active in procuring subscriptions to a Remonstrance of Loyalty; a paper, which made considerable noise at that day, and produced a schism among the catholics: the very effect intended by the duke of Ormond, who was the chief promoter of it. The catholics were the more anxious, at this time, to refute all calumnies, and display their innocence; as, by being

* Carte’s Ormond.

excluded from the act of amnesty, a favour extended to the murderers of Charles I., they were left entirely to depend on the king's mercy for any hope of restitution. The king, indeed, more than once acknowledged his obligations to the suffering catholic loyalists, and his duty to fulfil the terms of the treaty concluded with them, an. 1648. In a letter from Breda, in 1650, he desired the marquis of Ormond to assure them, 'that he would perform all grants and concessions which he had either made or promised them by that peace; and which, as he had new instances of their loyalty and affection to him, he should study rather to enlarge, than diminish or infringe in the least degree.'

"In his speech to both houses of parliament, July 1660, when a general act of oblivion was intended to be passed, his majesty knowing that means had been used to exclude the Irish from the benefit of that act, told them, "that he hoped the Irish alone would not be left without the benefit of his mercy; that they had shewn much affection to him abroad; and that he expected the parliament would have a care of his honour, and of what he had promised them." And in his declaration the November following (which was intended to be the ground-work of the act of settlement), he again acknowledged this obligation, and said, "he must always remember the great affection a considerable part of the Irish nation expressed to him during the time of his being beyond the seas; when, with all chearfulness and obedience, they received and submitted

to his orders, though attended with inconvenience enough to themselves; which demeanor of theirs, cannot but be thought very worthy of our protection, justice and favour."

" But the commissioners from Ireland, fearing that if the Irish were included in the general pardon, they would be of course restored to their estates (of which, by the bounty of the late usurpers, the commissioners and their adherents, were then actually in possession), petitioned both houses, that they might be excluded by an express clause, to be inserted in the act. And upon a motion being made in the house of peers, that this petition should be rejected, and the Irish included in the general indemnity, the duke of Ormond opposed it, alledging, that "his majesty had reserved the cognizance of that matter to himself;" though it was notorious, that his majesty in his speech to parliament, but a few days before had acquainted them, "that he expected (in relation to his engagement with that people) they would have a care of his honour, and of the promise he had made them." Excluded however they were, to the astonishment of all honest men; who now perceived, what powerful instruments their enemies made use of, to accomplish their wicked purposes."*

A poor apology Ormond made, for his ungracious, dishonest opposition to the motion, made in the English house of peers, for including the Irish in the act of general amnesty; that "if he

* Currie's Hist. Rev. Civil Wars.

did not oppose it, others undoubtedly would, who would not fail to exaggerate their faults, and exasperate the parliament, instead of reconciling." If the English were generally ignorant of the affairs of the Irish, and subject to prepossessions against them, through the misrepresentations of their enemies, he could plead no such ignorance; and was the fittest person to disabuse the English parliament of prejudices instilled into them by false tales of malevolence. He had a great share in driving the confederates to arm in their own defence, by executing the bloody mandates of the justices; also, as lord lieutenant, he was principally instrumental in extending and prolonging the war, and preventing that peace, which the king and confederates so ardently wished for, and which would, in all probability, have saved both. He also effected the ruin of the catholics, by urging and dividing them on the question of peace, when it was too late to serve king Charles or them.

The revengeful temper of a proud ambitious tyrant, might have a fatal influence on the fortunes of a great proportion of the confederates, who, at any time, opposed or disobeyed his will; as, when he told the Irish parliament, that Ireton hung at Limerick, some, who deserved to be hanged almost as well as himself. These were, the bishops, the mayor, major-general Purcell, and thirteen more of the principal officers and gentlemen, who had the lead in the garrison and city; but the preponderating motive of his flagrant breach of faith, dishonourable equally to him

and to Charles II., was avarice. Like the English adventurers, he, from the beginning, speculated on the forfeited lands of the Irish; and why not? His forefathers came, as adventurers, on the same speculation; and thereby, in course of time, realize princely fortunes. The impending troubles of Charles's reign he saw favourable for renewing the speculation. His education put him on a footing with the innovating adventurers; which interest he cultivated, by displaying his enmity to old popery, and injuring its followers, by every engine of force or fraud that he could grasp; and by recommending himself to the rising faction, by a strict compliance with their secret orders, and a friendly correspondence with their chief partizans. Therefore, when he played their own unjust, dishonourable game against the English colonists, as the proverb says, he only bit the biters.

Such were the motives that guided Ormond's conduct, from his entrance on public life, until the iniquitous settlement of the kingdom after the restoration, chiefly conducted by his advice, and under his direction. "Two grants were made to the marquis of Ormond by the king, soon after the breaking out of the war in 1641; one was the vesting in him all the securities and mortgages upon his estate, formerly made, and belonging to such persons as were, or had been, in the insurrection. The other, was that of the lands under him, and forfeited to him for breach of conditions. This grant was confirmed by a clause in the first act of settlement, and the estates

thus granted contained a prodigious quantity of land, which had been granted to gentlemen upon fee-farm, or quit-rents, and military tenures; by which they were obliged to follow their lord, the head of that family, upon any occasion of hosting, into the field; and upon failure thereof the lands were forfeited to their lord.”*

“ From his grace’s early application for these grants, it is evident enough what use he intended to make of them; as also what were the true motives of his backwardness to conclude the cessation in 1643; and of his frequent disobedience to his majesty’s urgent commands to hasten the peace of 1646; and of his carrying on, at the same time, a private correspondence and treaty with the Scotch covenanters in Ulster, in opposition to that peace; and of his hindering the Irish to be included in the general act of indemnity, after the restoration, or to be indulged with the necessary enlargement of time, for proving their innocence in the court of claims. From all this, I say, it is manifest that his grace foresaw, that a different conduct in any of these conjunctures, would have precluded him from some part of that vast emolument, which he expected from these grants, and which he knew, was in the end to be proportioned to the extent, duration, and heinousness of the insurrection.

* It is affirmed that he got as many gentlemen’s estates, upon the pretence of a grant of enjoying all lands that he could prove (by witness) to have paid him any chiefry, as were worth at least £150,000.

“ And thus we find his noble friend, the earl of Anglesey, acknowledging in print, in 1681, “ that it was then apparent, that his grace and his family, by the forfeiture and punishment of the Irish, were the greatest gainers of the kingdom, and had added to their inheritance vast scopes of land, and a revenue three times greater than what his paternal estate was* before the rebellion; and that most of his increase was out of their estates who adhered to the peaces of 1646 and 1648, or served under his majesty’s ensigns abroad.” From whence his lordship justly concluded, “ that his grace could not have been very sincere, in making either of these peaces with the Irish; but that, whatever moved him thereto, whether compassion, natural affection, or any thing else, he was in judgment and conscience against them; and so,” adds he, “ he has since appeared, and hath advantage by their laying aside.”†

“ It is, therefore, no wonder that his grace’s noble brother-in-law, lord Muskerry, when on

* “ A knowing contemporary writer asserts, “ that the annual rents of Ormond’s estate before the war, were but seven thousand pounds sterling (his ancient estate being then encumbered with annuities and leases, which otherwise was worth forty thousand pounds sterling per annum), and at present (1674) it is close upon eighty thousand. Now the first part of his new great revenues, is the king’s grant of all those lands of his own estate which were leased or mortgaged; the rest were grants of other men’s estates, and other gifts of his majesty.” His gifts and grants are thought to amount to £630,000.—Unkind Deserter, p. 162-2. See *Queries. ib.* Append, p. 168.

† “ My lord duke of Ormond,” says the earl of Essex,

his death-bed, declared to himself, "that the heaviest fear that possessed his soul, then going into eternity, was for his having confided so much in his grace, who had deceived them all, and ruined his poor country and countrymen."*

The bribes of the usurping adventurers, and soldiers to the king and his favourites, from the forfeited lands, even to the duke of York, who had a large portion, had the effect of turning the scale against the just rights of the Irish claimants, notwithstanding the king's promises. In a letter from Breda, an. 1650, to the marquis of Ormond, telling him to "assure his loyal catholic subjects, that, on account of the affection and duty shewn by them, he was determined to enlarge, rather than diminish the favours and concessions granted in the treaties with them." And in his speech to parliament, alluding to the bill of amnesty, he said, "That he hoped the Irish alone would not be excluded from his mercy; that they had shewn much affection to him abroad; and that he expected the parliament would have a care of his honour, and of what he had promised them." And in his declaration, the 30th of November following. "He must always remember the great affection a considerable part of the Irish nation expressed to him, during the time of his being

lord lieutenant of Ireland in 1674-5, "has received above £300,000 in this kingdom, besides all his great places and employments; and I am sure the losses in his private estate have not been equal to those I have suffered (in the preceding civil war), and yet he is so happy as no exception is taken to it."—State Lett. p. 213-14.

* Currie's Hist. Rev. Civil Wars.

beyond sea; when, with all cheerfulness and obedience, they received and submitted to his orders, though attended with inconvenience enough to themselves; which demeanor of theirs cannot but be thought very worthy of our protection, justice and favour." One would conclude from these words, that king Charles was mindful of his honour, promises and treaties; and that he meant honestly to adhere to them; but it appears from the sequel, that, following the advice of lord Clarendon, to reward his enemies, who might be troublesome; and neglect his friends, who would not therefore injure him; that, in extolling the merits of his loyal friends, he was only enhancing to his enemies, whom he courted, the value of the sacrifice he was offering unto them; as the heathen priests of old decked the victim with ribbons and garlands of flowers, as they led it to the slaughter. For, in the next session of parliament, Ormond, in his name and his authority, which he dare not use without permission, opposed the motion in the house of peers for including them in the general amnesty; alleging that the king had reserved their case for himself.

It was easy to prevail on Charles to come into the measures of the Cromwellians. Corrupted in his morals in France, perhaps from a malignant pleasure that politic jovial people took, to debauch the heir apparent of a rival kingdom, one day likely to ascend the throne, he eagerly grasped the seducing charms of pleasure and power, in the honey-moon of his new situation; utterly

regardless of the consequences to the present or future generations; so as he could enjoy, during his own life, luxurious ease, with the pomp and power of royalty. Unwarlike, indolent, immersed in pleasures, he dreaded to offend the formidable rebel party; and to that love of pleasure, indolence, and the fear of rousing the enemies of his family, he sacrificed his honour, his faith, his duty as a king to his subjects, and the faith of treaties. “ His declaration before-mentioned, for the settlement of Ireland, (which comprehended every foot of land in the kingdom) ordained, that above five hundred Irish gentlemen therein named, who had faithfully served him abroad, should be restored to their estates; but not until land of equal value was found, to reprice the Cromwellian adventurers and soldiers, who then had possession of them.” His mind was soon altered after that declaration; which perfidy, Clarendon, father-in-law of his brother, York, vainly endeavours to palliate, by imputing it to the false assurance, given him by lord Orrery, that, after all the adventurers and soldiers, and he might have added favourites, were satisfied, land enough would remain in Ireland, to provide liberally for the Irish. There were numbers as well acquainted with the state of the kingdom as lord Orrery, and less interested to deceive him, than this vulture, who could tell contrary. Had he been a man of honour, truth or justice, he would not have been so prodigal, in selling and bestowing the soil of Ireland, before he made provision for those gallant Irishmen, who, unfor-

fortunately for themselves, served so bad a master; those especially, who, in foreign service, contributed from their pay to supply his necessities; those mistaken loyalists, who moved after him, as the tail follows a part; and surrendered themselves to his will, to be disposed of, as a commodity, to either France or Spain, as either bid highest. The contention of these two great powers, for possession of the brigade, attests their gallantry; their conduct proclaimed, in the eyes of all Europe, their absolute devotion to his interest, to his will. This is a phenomenon of loyalty, for which there is scarce a parallel in antient or modern history. Base contemptible wretch! These magnanimous, these generous heroes, these protectors and fosterers of your exile, without whose heroic aid you might beg your bread, while France and Spain publicly disavowed you, owning the victorious enemies of your house a state, with whom they maintained relations of peace and amity; these are the benefactors, whom you sacrifice to the greatest of malefactors, whose desert was the extreme punishment, and to whom pardon and amnesty was a very high favour. No. It was not enough to amnesty the most atrocious robbers, incendiaries, ravishers, murderers, yea, murderers of your own father; they must, moreover, be rewarded for the perpetration of horrors, to punish which no penal law is sufficiently severe, with the inheritance of your singular, your heroic benefactors! Monster of ingratitude, consequently of impiety, to what shall I liken thee? To man? No. The

worst tyrants on record, from Nimrod to Barbarossa, or Oliver Cromwell, however cruel and unjust to the rest of the world, favoured their own partizans. To the brute? No. All the classes and species of animated nature, from the greatest to the smallest, adhere to their party and kind in the general system. They assemble for society, for protection, for assault, or defence. *Sævis inter se convenit ursæ*. Savage bears maintain a common cause.

Is it any wonder that divine providence hurled such a race from the throne? But there is in Ireland's story, a wonderful phenomenon, unaccounted for by any law of the moral world, except by that gospel precept, "if one strike thee on the cheek, turn to him thy other cheek also;" and "if one take thy coat, give him thy waistcoat also; love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good for evil: the attachment of the Irish to the Stuarts, after experiencing so much of their injustice, ingratitude, and tyranny. Some nations seem born to hate the good, and cherish the bad; such as the Jews, who put to death all their prophets, their promised messiah, and as many of his disciples as they could lay hands on; while they followed profligate impostors with enthusiasm, who led them to the slaughter like sheep. And, like the Irish confederates, who ordered the venerable archbishop of Fermo, who came to toil for their relief, out of the kingdom, threatening him with prosecution at the court of Rome; and denounced the only general, to whose abilities and patriotism

only Ireland could look for salvation at that very critical period, a traitor and enemy to his country; while they clung to Ormond, who was for years planning their destruction, and never ceased, until he brought on them the most fearful desolation, that ever visited a nation, by plague, war, and famine; when they were, to use the expression of an English writer, pounded as it were in a mortar, and scourged in such manner as no other nation ever was, except the Jews, and hardly they.

Now the cause of the unhappy Irish comes before the devil, and the court in hell; a junta of Cromwellians and their sure associates. "The king found, that if he deferred settling the government of Ireland, till a perfect adjustment of all particular interests could be made, it would be very long; he saw that there must be some examination taken there, before he could make his determination upon those particulars, which purely depended upon his own judgment; and so he passed that which is called the first act of settlement; and was persuaded to commit the execution thereof to commissioners, recommended to him by those who were most conversant in the affairs of that kingdom, though none, or very few of them, were known to his majesty."

"These commissioners constituted what was commonly called the court of claims in Ireland, but were very ill qualified for such a trust. They were for the most part engaged, by their interests, in the party of the adventurers and soldiers; very many of them were in possession

of those lands which others sued for before them; and they themselves bought broken tiltes, and pretences of other men, for inconsiderable sums of money, which they supported and made good by their own authority. Thus the judges themselves were both parties and witnesses, in all causes that were brought before them."

"Such scandalous practices could not be suffered to continue long. These commissioners were removed; and seven gentlemen, of very clear reputations, appointed in their room; some of them lawyers in very much esteem; and others, persons of very good extractions, excellent understandings, and above all suspicion for their integrity, and generally reputed to be superior to any base temptation."

"But although the commissioners of the court of claims were thus happily changed, the rigorous conditions of the innocency or nocency of the claimants, that had been first resolved upon, were still continued. According to these conditions, to prove a person innocent, it was not enough to shew, that he had never taken arms in the late insurrection, or entered into any treaty or association with those who had; no: for if such a person chanced but to dwell, however inoffensively, in any of the places occupied by the insurgents, he was to be judged nocent.

"But of all the marks of nocency established on this occasion, that of having taken the engagement to Cromwell, was the most extraordinary; for that engagement was primarily contrived, during the usurpation, by those very persons,

who, after the king's return, had acquired authority and influence enough to have the modelling and imposing of these rigid conditions. From whence resulted this very shocking injustice and absurdity, peculiar, certainly, to the policy of these times, that the original framers and promoters of that engagement, who had themselves voluntarily taken and signed it, and had compelled others to take it, were not only held innocent, but rewarded with great honours, and employments of the highest authority in the state; while those who abhorred it, when it was forced upon them, and never took it but at the last extremity, and to avoid a violent and shameful death, were condemned as nocent, not only to the loss of their estates, but also to the mortification of seeing them bestowed upon the very authors and imposers of that engagement.

“ The time limited for holding the court of claims was a twelvemonth; but it sat only “ from February to August following; during which space, the claims of near a thousand innocents were heard, whereof half were declared innocent, notwithstanding the many difficulties they had to encounter, as well from the rigorous conditions before-mentioned, as from a swarm of corrupt witnesses that were daily employed against them. For the suborning of witnesses at these trials was so frequent and bare-faced, that their perjuries were sometimes proved in open court, by the testimony of honourable persons, who happened accidentally to be present. Sir William Petty boasted, when he had evicted the duke of Ormond

out of some lands before this court, that he had gotten witnesses, that would have sworn through a three-inch board."

"The court of claims being now at an end, that which was called the explanatory bill, put an absolute period to all future hopes of these unheard claimants. By that bill it was enacted, "that no person or persons, who by the qualifications in the former act of settlement, had not been adjudged innocent, should at any time after be reputed innocent, so as to claim any lands or tenements, thereby vested; or be admitted to have any benefit or allowance of adjudication of innocence; or any benefit of articles whatsoever." This bill (which the Irish call the black act) was brought over to Ireland, signed and sealed, by the duke of Ormond himself."*

"Thus every one remaining of those numerous

* "By this act, Ormond is said to have got the city of Kilkenny, and six other corporate towns, together with their lands and liberties, valued by himself and his friends of the council but at £60,000 tho' they are well worth £120,000." By the same act, £300,000 were to be raised on his majesty's subjects of Ireland, £100,000 of which was for his grace. Quere 17th, "Whether the duke of Ormond's gifts and grants amount not to £630,000, and whether this sum would not have satisfied all the English interest of Ireland, and have settled the protestants and well-meriting natives of that kingdom in peace; whereas now his majesty, and all Christendom is troubled with their clamours against the breach of public faith." "The duke of Ormond's estate was much incumbered, and his rents before the rebellion, exceeding not £7000 per annum, and during the war he got more by his government of Ireland, and giving up Dublin, than he could if he were in possession of his estate."—Unkind Deserter, p. 165. 168. 169.

claimants, whose causes had not been heard, was entirely cut off. They complained of perjury and subornation in causes that were tried before the court of claims; but their great and striking grievance was, that more than three thousand persons were condemned without the justice granted to the vilest criminals, that of a fair and equal trial.”*

As some have accused this history of partiality to the poor natives of this highly gifted and much injured land, it is pleasant to have an able voucher to produce, above suspicion of unreasonable partiality, as being an Englishman, and authentic, as a well informed cotemporary with the facts he relates. This valuable document* was put into my hands, Jan. 15, 1811, by the printer of this history, and completely justifies my hostility to the spurious histories published against this country.

“ To comply with your lordship’s command, I here send you a short but just account, of the deplorable state of the Irish nation, and of the apparent injustice which the present government makes it groan under. This I am afraid, as I formerly hinted to your lordship, has for some years past irritated, and does still continue the avenging hand of heaven over us: and since we have, contrary to all humanity and equity, treated the Irish in a most unheard-of manner; it is to

* Leland.

† A Letter from an English Gentleman to a Member of Parliament, shewing the Hardships, Cruelties and severe Usage with which the Irish Nation has been treated, &c.

be further feared, that unless we have a speedy recourse to the Divine Majesty, so outrageously provoked against us, and endeavour, by a most humble and timely repentance, to put a stop to our violences, his justice will make our punishment still more exemplary; for though it be but too well known, that the Roman Catholics of Ireland have suffered a thousand persecutions under the late usurped government, their fate in that being common not only with some English and Scotch noblemen, and others of unshaken loyalty, but even the king himself, and all the royal family, made their sufferings the more tolerable to them, no body complaining of his private misfortune, when all were plunged in so general a calamity; *ferre quam sortem patiuntur omnes, nemo recusat*. But now, that they alone should continue under oppression since his majesty's happy restoration, and that the tears of those unfortunate people should hinder us from truly saying, that the joy spread over the rest of the subjects of our English monarchy, is not universal; and that their present hardships should far out-do the cruelty they were treated with under the tyranny of Cromwell, is what can sooner be bewailed than expressed.

Yet I can't but observe, my lord, how few of us have any sense of their miseries, and that the Irish have to bear up not only against the malice of their implacable enemies; but even are, as it were, forgotten by those, who, as they were fellow sufferers for the same cause together, were, as one may say, become mutual friends; but who

no sooner believed themselves delivered from what the Irish still labour under, than they became unconcerned to cure those wounds of their neighbours, which they thought themselves in no further danger of.

“ These reasons, my lord, and my inclination to satisfy whatever your lordship requires of me; my zeal to justice; and, in fine, that natural impulse and compassion, which inclines every one to pity his kind, together with the partiality of almost all our English writers, who being for the most part protestants, if not fanatics, and consequently too much interested not to disguise plain matters of fact, or to speak to the advantage of a nation all or most catholics, whose estates, benefices and employments they usurp, have summed up all their art and venom to load the Irish with all the impostures, and with the blackest calumnies wit and malice could invent, that, thereby rendering them odious all the world over, they might themselves appear less criminal before man, and their usurpations less unjust; so that to them may properly be applied what we read in the 28th chapter of the prophet Isaiah, “ We have made lies our refuge, and have sheltered ourselves under falsehood:” without speaking of what the same prophet says a little before, “ and we have made an agreement with hell.” Add, that an unchristian prejudice peculiar to us, and our innate pride, which makes us despise every body but ourselves, incline us rather to believe every thing to the prejudice of the Irish, who yet are no less brave, no less good christians,

nor less faithful subjects to the same prince than we, than judge of them according to that charity which everyone ought to have for his neighbour, obliges us to do, and which we would not be well pleased ourselves not to be judged according to the rules of, on the like occasion.

“ These reasons, I say, moving enough, and considerations so just, have prevailed with me to lay before your lordship all the particulars of the present state of Ireland.”

Will any man say, that this English gentleman, in writing his narrative, could be influenced by any unreasonable partiality to the Irish nation? Love of truth and justice; compassion for the greatly injured loyalists of Ireland, are evident features of his composition, and sure proofs of his humanity. As he possessed the best means of information, his authority on the subject is unexceptionable. The cruelties and injustice, practised on the Irish after the restoration, are clearly and briefly detailed.

“ This short abridgment, my lord, is a lively portraiture of the affairs of Ireland from the time of his majesty’s happy restoration to this hour, as to matter of fact: let us now, by your lordship’s leave, proceed to that of right, and examine a little by what title do these people appropriate to themselves the estates of that unhappy nation, whose sole forfeiting crimes are their religion and loyalty. This may be reduced to four principal heads.

“ The first shall be that of the London merchants, whom we call adventurers. The second

that of the soldiers. The third of the protestant officers of 1649. And the fourth of those who are refused the benefit of innocence. Let us begin with the adventurers.

“ These are the citizens of London, who in the year 1641, were forward to advance money under pretence of reducing the Irish rebels (tho’ their chief aim and primary intention, as time has since visibly discovered, was by the advance and employ of that money to dethrone the king) upon condition nevertheless that they should receive of the rebels’ lands proportionably to the sums by them so advanced, pursuant to an act of our English parliament expressly made to that purpose, and requiring that the said money should be applied to no other use or purpose than reducing the said rebels, until they should be declared by lords and commons to be reduced, &c. It is further enacted by the same act, that as soon as both houses of parliament should, by order, declare the rebels to be entirely subdued, a commission should be issued out under the broad seal of England, to make a strict enquiry throughout the four provinces of Ireland of the forfeited estates, in order to divide them among those citizens, who had thus advanced their money. And that you may have it in the very words of the act itself, take them as followeth. “ And be it further enacted, that when the lords and commons of this realm of England shall, in parliament, by order declare, that the said rebels are subdued, and that this present rebellion in the said kingdom of Ireland is appeased and ended,

that forthwith, after such declaration made and sent to the lord chancellor, or the lord keeper of the great seal of England for the time being, the said lord chancellor, or lord keeper, is hereby authorised and required to issue forth commissions into all the said four provinces of that kingdom of Ireland, for the surveying and setting forth of the said two millions and a half of acres, which commission shall be to such effect, and directed to such persons as the said lords and commons in parliament shall appoint....which said commissioners....shall return all their proceedings therein, fairly ingrossed in parchment, into his majesty's court of chancery of the said kingdom of Ireland, to remain there likewise of record."

"Not one of these things has ever been performed; for in the first place that money was so far from being employed in reducing the rebels in Ireland, that it was all or most laid out in buying arms and other warlike provisions to levy war in England against the king. Like employ! like title!

"Secondly, the rebels have never yet been thus declared entirely subdued, nor has any commission under the broad seal been issued out, no more than those necessary consequences of it, expressly required by the act, observed.

"It is true that some corrupt pretended members of the house of commons, after having separated themselves from their lawful head, the king, or rather his head from his royal shoulders, and next to him, from the noblest and most es-

essential part of parliament, the lords spiritual and temporal, and who consequently had no right or power to act or determine any thing but what they arrogated to themselves by their bare-faced rebellion and usurpation, declared in the year 1652, without any concurrence of the house of lords, nor indeed of the soundest or major part of the commons, the rebels subdued (though it was notoriously known that those very rebels continued still in arms defending the banished king's right in that kingdom till the year 1653,) and at the same time ordered ten counties for those city merchants, without issuing any commission under the great seal, or examining whether those lands were in strictness forfeited or no.

“ The last adventurers, who, for hazarding their money, advanced it on condition that it should yield them so much again as the first, had a large dividend of these ten counties; because they advanced it to that sacrilegious long parliament which flew in his majesty's face, and attacked him with armed force; and that without the help of that money neither the late king would have so tragically ended his days, nor his present majesty have occasion to undergo so many hardships in his cruel and long exile; and yet such crimes entitle them to, and vest them in the estates of the Irish, who are for no other reason deprived of them, than for having been as true and faithful to the king, in opposing his enemies; as those had been zealous Cromwelians, and fierce persecutors of the royal family.

“ The late king, sensible of the nullity of this act, was never heard to mention one word of the adventurers in any time of his treaties with the confederate Irish; which so sincere a lover of justice as king Charles I. was, would never have been silent in, had he thought himself under any obligation by that act to make good to them those estates which he well knew they had no right to.

“ But let us suppose that the act 17 Caroli, made in favour of the first adventurers be good in law; can the new adventurers who are to have as much again as the first, expect it should support them? Nay, how can even the first adventurers themselves, whose money was applied to quite other uses than the relieving the protestants in Ireland, and reducing the rebels, pretend to any benefit of it, or consequently any right to those estates, or insist on any agreement made with them about them? No, not only that these cannot; but even those whom we look upon as true adventurers, and are but few in number, and whose money was really laid out to carry on the war in Ireland, cannot legally keep the estates of the Irish, till first both houses of parliament have declared the rebels entirely subdued, till they have issued out a commission under the great seal to distinguish and declare the nocent from the innocent; and, in short, till all those formalities expressly required by the act are performed, and a just division or allotment be made of the real forfeited estates and of no other.

“ The first minister of state, formerly a lawyer

by profession, can neither be ignorant of, nor deny this, be his regard for truth never so little; nor indeed doth he scruple to make his royal master own it, in his declaration for the settlement of Ireland, in these words: “ And therefore in the first place, in order to a settlement of that interest claimed by the adventurers, although the present estates and possessions they enjoy, if they were examined by the strict letter of the law, would prove very defective and invalid, as being no ways pursuant to those acts of parliament, upon which they pretend to be founded. Yet we being always more ready to consult with our natural inclination to mercy, than with the positive reason of law: we do hereby declare, that all the lands, tenements and hereditaments, of which all or any of the adventurers were possessed the 7th day of May 1659, having been allotted or set out to them (by the rebel-pretended parliament or assembly aforesaid) or enjoyed by them as adventurers in satisfaction of, and for their adventures, shall be confirmed and made good to them, their heirs and assigns for ever.”

“ Could any thing be said more to shew the groundlessness of the adventurers title derived from the act 17 Car. 2. and could the chief minister of justice pronounce a more unjust sentence than to say, although these criminal adventurers have no right to the estates in question, yet its my pleasure and the king's mercy to adjudge 'em for them, against positive reason of law and justice. These lands are neither more nor less than ten counties: the pretenders to them are, the old

Irish Proprietors and the London Adventurers.
The first have in their favour a lawful peaceable possession of many hundreds of years, without interruption or discontinuance; their titles, their deeds, their charters, and their contracts, shew it. They are turned out of them, for having inviolably adhered, and adhering still to this hour, to their lawful sovereign; whom these adventurers helped to dethrone, and bring to the block, by furnishing those great sums of money, for which they are now so liberally rewarded, at the expence of the loyal Irish.

“ The last adventurers can set up no other title, as by the very few words of the act itself appears, than to have been warranted by an usurped government to advance vast sums of money towards supporting the rebellion, overthrowing the monarchy, and building their own darling commonwealth upon its royal ruins; yet these parricides are, by the settlement of Ireland, recompensed with the antient inheritance of those who only forfeited for a steady adherence to their duty. Good God! What justice?

“ The second article relates to the Cromwelian soldiers, whose interest in that country and the upholding of it, has been no small obstacle to the restoring of the Irish, though the 17 Car. 1, says not one word of them, and that they can pretend no other colour to detain the estates they usurp, than what their swords, always employed both against his late majesty and the present king, have got them. No matter; a service so glorious, and so deserving a monumentum ære

perennius, must be requited with the spoils of the unfortunate Irish, not in one city or county alone, but in twelve large counties of the kingdom.

“ I don’t believe that there is a man breathing, who dare countenance, much less, defend, so odious a title; for the most avowed patrons of these soldiers will never pretend to maintain it lawful, no nor even admit it in plea in any court of judicature, yet they were often heard to say, that it was at least convenient to keep them in their possessions, though unjustly acquired. I fancy we will meet but with very few other politicians, especially among those who follow the gospel of Christ, that will approve of such convenience: it would much more become the dignity and probity of a chancellor to say, let justice be done, happen what will, fiat justitia, aut ruat cœlum, than we must do what is convenient, though contrary to equity.

“ It’s an admiral convenience indeed! to drive old proprietors, ever faithful to the king, fighting his battles at home to preserve his right, and prodigal of their blood in all other parts of the world abroad, his service required it, to drive them, I say, from their ancient estates, in order to give and secure them, for ever, to fanatical soldiers, devoted servants to Oliver Cromwell, and sworn enemies to the crown.

“ The first minister of state, the soul of these deliberations and councils, to prove and uphold any expedient so unjust, used to draw the strength of his arguments from the too great power of the

Cromwellians in Ireland, in this manner. 'The English troops are very numerous in Ireland, they are well armed, and are masters of all the cities and strong holds in the kingdom; so that it would be dangerous to provoke them; and even the necessity of our present affairs obliges us to protect them in their acquisitions; for in this case, we are not so strictly to consider equity and right, as to accommodate ourselves to the times.'

"This bugbear of an argument used to be repeated at the council-board, as a *ne plus ultra*; but perhaps this mighty statesman, with all his profound policy, had not time enough to reflect, that the same argument, and the same reasons, might as well have served to confirm all the Cromwellians in England in their usurpations of the royal authority, of the church and crown lands, and of the estates of several of the nobility and gentry, which by their rebellion and parricide they made themselves masters of; and yet were they not turned out at a time they had arms in their hands, had possession of all the places of strength in the nation, (and were much more numerous, and far better provided with all manner of necessaries, and therefore more formidable, than those in Ireland,) without noise, disturbance or danger.

"I have travelled, my lord, all over the kingdom of Ireland, and I can affirm to your lordship, that the ancient inhabitants are ten to one of the new, and these far more considerable: but the vast sums of money given, have gained the

corrupt soul of this minister, and gold has broke through the sanctuary of justice, to make room for iniquity, and give way to oppress innocence in a crueller manner than any, the most barbarous tyrant, ever invented. But let us grant those troops to be as many, and as powerful, as our narrow-soul'd, cowardly minister would fain represent them, are they near as many or as powerful (as I have already said) as those we saw of their stamp in England at the time of the king's restoration; and yet have not these been disbanded in less than three months time, without trouble or pain? whereas those in Ireland are needlessly kept in pay now above seven years, by reason whereof his majesty receives no revenue out of so large and fertile a kingdom; but on the contrary, is obliged yearly to transmit thither out of England great remittances for the subsistence of so useless an army.

“ For my part, I can't comprehend how the king could so securely, and with so little difficulty, dismiss Cromwell's troops in England, and cannot with the same ease, and with as little danger, disarm those in Ireland, where their strength is less, their charge, all their things considered, more burthensome, and themselves of no use.

“ If it be answered, that for want of money, they would be all cashiered all at once; could it not be done by degrees, and by regiments, in seven or eight years time?

“ I think I have sufficiently made it appear, that those Cromwellian tyrants have no other

colour of right but what is grounded upon the bare pleasure of the king, surprized by the artifice of his prime minister, who keeps up these troops for some sordid, if not criminal end of his own.

“ Let this favourite, who fills his master’s soul with a fear more than servile, in order to make him tolerate injustice, take care that his malice or ignorance be not one day detected, and the consequences soon attend him, by being measured unto as he measures to others. *Rex est, qui posuit.*

The third article, obstructing the Irish even to desperation, is the interest of the officers of 1649, before mentioned, who served either under the king or for the parliament all the time before that year, the arrears of whose pay, by themselves well calculated, amounts to eighteen hundred thousand pounds sterling, for the payment of which sum (whereof the tenth part could never be due to them) the best and richest part of the kingdom, which every body knows to be worth millions, is assigned to them, without examining the extravagance of their accounts, and without considering that the most part of these very officers had been actually engaged in the rebellion of the year 1649, and the precedent years; as among others, the earls of Orrery and Montrath, the lords Kingstown and Colooney, Sir John Cole, Sir Theophilus Jones, Sir Oliver St. George and many others; or at least in a short time after, deserted the king’s standard to join the usurper; which piece of service Cromwell rewarded very liberally.

“ These officers are invested not only with the lands and lordships of four large counties, to wit, the counties of Wicklow, Longford, Leitrim and Donegal, but with all the walled towns and cities, and the lands thereunto belonging, throughout all Ireland; and all within a mile of the river Shannon, and of the sea-side, commonly called Mile-line, in the province of Connaught and county of Clare; and the benefit accruing out of the redemption of all mortgages, statute-staples, and judgments, not already given or allotted to adventurers or soldiers, with other great advantages therein expressed, all belonging to the Irish, whose right and inheritance is not only thus disposed of (as any one taking pains to read the act may see) but their very deeds and titles declared void and forfeited.

“ And least all this might not satisfy that insatiable crew, the last act gives them £100,000 sterling on a year's revenue of the adventurers, soldiers, and such of the Irish as were restored to their estates: whilst the Irish Roman catholic officers, (who all along steadfastly adhered to the king, faithfully served him at all times, and on all occasions, when all or most of these protestant officers deserted him in Ireland, in order to serve under Cromwell, where their greatest inclination lead them,) because they bear the odious name of papists, were thought unworthy any favour or reward (otherwise due to their signal services) they, who generously and unanimously stood by their prince, not out of constraint, nor in view of aggrandizing themselves, adhering

to their fortunes, or other worldly end whatsoever; but excited by a principle of true religion, and motive of honour and glory, to discharge the duty of allegiance they owed to their lawful sovereign: a thing they did for five years together with armed force at their own charges, and at the expence of many thousand lives of brave and gallant men, who rather than abandon the justice of the cause, or not seal their loyalty with their blood, were all sacrificed without spot or stain.

“ And is it less surprising that these few protestant officers, who scarce served two years in Ireland, should be rewarded with £180,000; and that our loyal English officers and soldiers (who infinitely surpass them in number, served the king three times longer, were never tainted with treason, desertion or parricide, and who never made self-interest the ground of their loyalty) had among them all, without distinction of religion or country, but £70,000 sterling; and even that to be distributed but among the poorest of them, who had neither estates nor employments in the commonwealth to keep them from starving.

“ And why, I beseech you, shall the commanders of four or five garrisons in Ireland (who pillaged and plundered those very garrisons, &c. to ten times the value of what could be justly due to them, and then betrayed them to Cromwell) be made proprietors of four large counties, and of all the great towns and cities in a kingdom, with an assignation of £100,000 sterling in money, &c. while all the loyalists in England

to them as faults;’ so, though the elect fanatics of our chancellor have been guilty of the highest treason, and of a rebellion of the deepest dye that ever was hatched, yet they must pass for his majesty’s most faithful and most obedient protestant subjects, till another fair opportunity offers.

“ Thus, this chief minister of state, violating all the rules of equity and justice, by a distribution of rewards in so disproportionable a manner, and upholding his so doing with patched-up reasons, hardly able to hold water, alledging, that the protestant interest in Ireland cannot be secured but by ruining the Irish; and concludes, that the Irish must be wholly excluded from any share of the estates, which the commonwealth had not yet disposed of; therefore, that the protestant interest may for the future stand inviolable, all reasonings of state must keep to, and be governed by that maxim, notwithstanding all its repugnancy to common sense, and natural equity.

“ But as this mighty minister makes use of this argument, as his last resource, it will not be amiss to examine a little this touch-stone of scandal, and set such a phantom, author of so many monstrous impieties, in a truer light. Therefore in the first place.

“ As to what concerns the security of the protestant interest, its certain the king ought to maintain it, as far as the glory of God will allow it, the laws of nations, and the different constitution of every country require it.

“ But will any man (be he never so zealous for his religion) say, that whilst the king was

master of Dunkirk in Flanders, he was obliged to exterminate the old inhabitants, to send over a new colony of English in their room? The way to plant, spread, and establish true religion used to be by preaching, good works, and pious examples; not by tyranny, or by violent means: nor is the breaking in unjustly upon our neighbours estates, and taking them from them with a high hand, (because they are not of our belief) the most inviting or christian means to convert them.

“ The wrongs and injustices done to the Irish by the protestants in the settlement of that kingdom, will not tend to their edification, nay it will give them such an abhorrence, and be an eternal obstacle to their embracing a religion, whereof they see the very chief heads themselves so wicked; for all the world knows that the confiscation of estates was more aimed at, and more particularly in view, than the conversion of souls: which I can prove from the instance of those, who, to preserve their estates, offered to quit the religion of their ancestors wherein they had been bred, to become protestants, but in vain.

“ Indeed if we consider things with regard to the new English interest, viz. the London merchant-adventurers, Cromwell’s soldiers, &c. it is certain, that to do the Irish justice, and that, can never stand together; for the title of these sort of English will not hold, but by destroying that of the Irish; just as the commonwealth sunk at the restoration of the monarchy, and the usurped power of Cromwell and his successor vanished, on the happy return of the royal authority.

“ But if, by the English interest we understand, as undoubtedly we ought, that of the crown and of the true nobility of that nation, I see no reason why it may not be as well secured for 500 years to come, or more, as it has been hitherto, with honour and advantage to the crown, since Henry II.’s time, without ruining or extirpating its old inhabitants. Why may not the English government be as well preserved in Ireland without an entire extermination of the natives, as that of the Spaniards in Naples and in Flanders? that of the French in Alsace, in Roussillon, and other conquered countries? that of the Swedes in Bremen, and in Pomerania? that of the Danes in Norway? that of the house of Austria in Hungary? that of the Venetians in Dalmatia, Morea, &c. and that of the Turks in Greece, and many other Christian provinces, whence they never drove the inhabitants, or took away their estates, though they often took up arms against them?

“ Heretofore the rights and conquests of Christian princes used to be preserved by building of forts and citadels, by punishments and rewards, by erecting magazines and keeping of armies to awe their disaffected subjects; and not by so inhuman means as the total extinction of the people they governed even by conquest. On the contrary, we have but too many examples in history, how several princes after having ranged their revolted subjects to their duty, and had graciously pardoned them, have also restored them to their honours and estates; nay, some

have gone so far as to discharge them from the allegiance they owed them, when either the public tranquillity and safety required it, or that they could not be appeased otherwise, as the king of Spain did to the Hollanders in the year 1609, and no doubt but a prince may lawfully do all this, and give up his own right, where the state of his affairs, either to avoid a greater evil, or to procure a greater advantage, necessarily requires it.

“ But suppose the securing of this new English interest, to be so precious and sacred a thing; allow it warrantable to exterminate all the ancient inhabitants of Ireland out of that corner of the earth, which the bountiful hand of almighty God providentially allotted for their patrimony out of the spacious globe of the universe; what pretence or colour will our mighty little politician, this subtle, crafty statesman, have to root out so many families, originally English, who by their valour, and at the price of their honourable blood, always acting by royal authority and commission, acquired to the imperial crown of England all its pretensions on that kingdom since the year 1169?

“ Now if this canibal-new English-interest gives no better quarters to those illustrious ancient families of its nation, settled in Ireland, what can strangers, or the first inhabitants of that kingdom, expect at their hands? Nay, ought not even the successors and descendants of these very soldiers and adventurers, apprehend at this rate, least in the next age a fresh swarm of English may come to supplant and destroy them,

under pretence of further and better securing the English interest in that kingdom? And may not we reasonably believe, that in an age or two after, these last will become a sacrifice to some other new undertakers; since we see that those who went to settle in Ireland in the beginning of the reign of king James I. are spared no more than those, who, under Henry II. subdued that nation, and afterwards made it their country? so if we pursue this method, we shall never secure the English interest in Ireland.

“ The fourth and last obstacle hindering the restoration of the Irish, ariseth from those whom the king gave great estates to, at other people’s expence in that kingdom: the title of these having no other foundation than his majesty’s bare good will and pleasure, in making such gifts to them, at the instigation of the chancellor, &c. is plain enough of itself; for it can’t be said, that his majesty was by any treaty or promise, under obligation to gratify his courtiers and favourites, with other non-forfeiting person’s estates.

“ What convenience, I’d fain know, was there to give the duke of York, the king’s brother, and heir presumptive to three kingdoms, the estates of so many unfortunate Irish gentlemen, who followed him every where through all the degrees of his misfortunes, and thereby expose his royal highness and his posterity, to the tears, groans and woful complaints of so many widows, orphans and others, who, by this state-turn of Clarendon, are reduced to extream misery, and whose daily cries and feeling sufferings call for

justice to the omnipotent and all-seeing God, who never suffers such doings to escape unpunished, even in this world.

“ But that your lordship may the better understand the title of the crown to those estates, and consequently, that of those, to whom it made such large donations of them; you must observe, that one Miles Corbet, and other regicides, having got vast estates in Ireland, on the sole merit of rebellion, and having joyfully pronounced the horrid and sacrilegious sentence of death against the late king, their lawful sovereign; but having been deservedly hanged for the same, immediately after the restoration of his present majesty, and forfeiting the estates of the loyal Irish, whereof these king-murderers were actually seized and possessed at and before their natural or civil deaths, by virtue of Cromwell’s grants thereof to them, in recompence of their parricide, and whereof that tyrant dispossessed the Irish for no other cause than their unshaken adherence to the crown’s interest, against him and those very parricides; these estates, I say, were given to the duke of York; as you may see by the following proviso in the act of settlement, and confirmed by the act of explanation, in these words, viz.

“ Provided always, and be it hereby further enacted, that nothing in this act contained shall extend to vest in his majesty, his heirs, or successors, any the honours, castles, messuages, mannors, lands, tenements and hereditaments, whereof Oliver Cromwell deceased, Henry Ireton

deceased, John Jones deceased, Daniel Axtel deceased, Gregory Clement deceased, Isaac Ewer deceased, John Bradshaw deceased, Thomas Hamond deceased, Sir Hardress Waller, John Hewson, Miles Corbet, Thomas Wagon, Edmond Ludlow, Edward Dendy, John Lesle, William late lord Mounson, Cornelius Holland, Henry Smith, Owen Rowe, Edmond Harvey, Nicholas Love, Edward Whaley, Thomas Pride, deceased, William Say, Valentine Walton, John Berkstead, Sir Michael Livesey, John Okey, Wm. Gouffe, Thomas Challinor, William Cawley, John Dixwell, Andrew Broughton, Thomas Harrison, Adrian Scroop, John Carew, Thomas Scot, Hugh Peters, Francis Hacker, Isaac Pennington, Henry Martin, Gilbert Millinton, Robert Tichburn, Robert Lilborn, John Downs, Vincent Potter, Augustine Garland, George Fleetwood, Simon Main, James Temple, Peter Temple, Thomas Wait, Sir John Danvers, John Blackston, Sir Wm. Constable, Richard Dean, Francis Allyn, deceased, Peregrine Pelham, John Aldred alias Alured, Humphrey Edwards, John Wynn, Anthony Stapely, Thomas Horton, John Frey, James Challiner, Sir Henry Mildmay, Sir James Harrinton, John Phelps, or any of them, were at any time heretofore seized or possessed in their own right, or any other in trust for them, or to their use, or which at any time heretofore were given and granted, allotted, assigned or distributed, deposed, or conveyed to them or any of them, or any other in trust for them or any of them, or to any person or persons claiming by,

from, or under them, or any of them, in satisfaction of any adventures, or arrears due unto them or any of them, or for any other recompence or reward whatsoever, but the same and every of them shall be, and are hereby vested and settled in and upon his royal highness James, duke of York and Albany, earl of Ulster, &c. to have and to hold to his said highness, his heirs and assigns, &c.”

“ Let all the world judge of the validity of such a title: I am mistaken if any court of justice in the universe will admit it pleadable, even in favour of a second or third descent, unless where the parties themselves (as in this case) are judges; since *nemo potest plus juris in alium transferre, quam ipse habet*....

“ I pass by those many other courtiers of less note, who, tasting his majesty’s favours, wanted not their shares in these spoils through the artifice of the prime minister, who resolved by these means to rise and strengthen enemies to a nation he designed the destruction of; and that by engaging so unexceptionable a person as his royal highness, &c. to partake of the plunder, the interest might be the better supported, his own violation of justice, and his friends usurpations might appear less horrid or barefaced, to all such as were no sufferers by it, and therefore would not enquire farther into the matter, stuck at nothing to attain his end.

“ These are the odious ways and methods, by which the unpitied, though deserving Irish, are precluded from the very hopes of ever being

restored to their inheritance. And can any benefit be expected from what the adventurers and soldiers are required to refund, in favour of the poor Irish, who were actually decreed innocent, when the court swallows all the stock of reprisal, by its daily exorbitant grants thereof?....

“ It will, I fancy, be a paradox to posterity, that the Irish, after having often taken arms, should again be restored by the favour of kings, originally English; and must now be exterminated for ever by a prince, lineally descended from Fergusius, one of the princes of the blood-royal of their own country; and by a prince too under much greater obligation to them, than any that ever swayed the sceptre of the English monarchy; and yet in this very prince’s reign, notwithstanding all his high endowments, and his innate royal intention to do justice, we see so many thousand innocent victims sacrificed unheard, by the artifice of others; while a general act of indemnity is granted to all criminals, even some of the murderers of his royal father not excepted. These are matters of fact, that, in our days cannot be denied: but will hardly gain credit in future ages; since no history, before our time, can shew any thing like it; and that I believe from the beginning of the creation to the world’s end, no Christian country governed by any that professes christianity, will be able to produce such another example.

“ The cruelest and most bloody tyrants that ever lived, those monsters of nature, who were cut out for the ruin and destruction of mankind,

never used their old friends so ill, as to throw them quite out of all, to place their newly-reconciled enemies in their room.

“ Now will any man believe, who has not seen it with his eyes, that in the reign of so good and gracious a prince, who at the same time that he protects the nobility and gentry of England in their splendour and greatness, the people in their rights and liberties, the weak from the oppression of the strong, and all from the furious insults of the mob, and commands an impartial administration of justice to be made throughout so vast and flourishing a kingdom, without distinction of persons: his ministers turn all upside-down in Ireland, plunder the gentry, condemn the guiltless, stop the mouths and smother the complaints of orphans and widows who cry to heaven for relief, and make them perish with cold and hunger: while they ratify the unjustifiable extortions of usurpers, violate public faith, suppress virtue, countenance vice, make loyalty pass for treason, and give large rewards to the most notorious rebels and traitors that ever betrayed and murdered their king.

“ And has not this very minister been often heard to say, with a disdainful, passionate air, the Irish deserve to be ruined, and quite rooted; and at the same time swear bitterly, after this usual manner, that he would utterly destroy them; and that to abolish their very names, he would so far pursue their ruin, as not to spare their breast-sucking children. Good God! what a declaration of malice and hatred? And how unbecoming

one pretending to believe in Christ, and bearing the character of a chancellor? Surely he must either be unacquainted with, or very little regard, that commandment of God, ‘Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.’.....

“ This proud Hamon, in confederacy with the rest, who no less thirsted after wealth and vast estates, for themselves and their children, made no scruple, in order to gratify their insatiable appetites, and in contempt of all that was sacred and just, to strike at a total extirpation of all that should bear the name of an Irishman; and was at the eve of executing his wicked purpose and fulfilling his unchristian oath, when the just hand of heaven thought fit to mortify his soul, by lowering his mighty power, and measuring unto him as he would have measured unto others.

“ I will not undertake to justify their first rising, though I have seen a Latin treatise, proving the lawfulness of it, from an unavoidable necessity of self-preservation, in defence of their lives, religion, and the entire overthrow of the whole kingdom, long before aimed at; and meditated by the restless undermining English and Scotch presbyterians, who, at the same time, no less longed for, and pushed at the dethroning and murdering of the king, and the total subversion of the whole monarchy, as by too tragical an experience the world has more than seen; for I’ll never excuse any subject living under a lawful government, to take arms on any pretence whatsoever, without express leave, or order from the supreme lawful governor. Yet I’ll maintain

that, in that insurrection, as cruel, and as barbarous as some have taken no small pains to paint it, and others (even many good and well meaning men and women) for want of true information, and disposed besides to believe always the worst of that nation, as greedily believed it: there died six times more catholics than protestants; and that not only from a most strict impartial enquiry made into the matter of fact, and from public records still in being, which verify the same; but because the most part of the protestants lived at that time, within the walled towns, cities, castles and places of strength of the kingdom; which secured them from all insults of the people; and as for those, who lived in the country, and for whom there was most to fear, they either retired into the towns and garrisons in the beginning of the troubles, and there dwelt with the rest, all the time of the war, or fled into England, or Scotland; so that very few were lost, except what were surprised in the first heat.

“ But with the catholics it was quite otherwise: they were exposed on all sides to the fury of their merciless enemies, and massacred for the space of twelve years together; but as they were slaughtered like so many sheep, without pity, the effusion of their blood made no noise, at least in England, where the very name of an Irishman, whether of English or old Irish extraction, is alone a crime, without considering that they are our fellow-christians and subjects, and perhaps no less deserving all our esteem and justice. Whereas the loss of one protestant, who had but

the misfortune to fall, even in the beginning of the confusion, was multiplied to a hundred; and thousand republicans made it their industrious care and business to repeat, like so many echoes, the cruelties and massacres of the Irish against their protestant party there; not so much out of love and compassion to the sufferers, as for more hidden and pernicious ends, viz. to defame and blacken the king, to whom, by a more than diabolical malice, they attributed all the pretended murders committed on the protestants in that kingdom; and by that means, and other such calumnies, animate the people against him; so that by this artifice they murdered him in the hearts and affections of his subjects, by stifling therein all sentiments of respect and duty long before they brought him to the block."

The public have been so long accustomed to spurious history, false representations, and calumnious tales, of this nation, that truth, at its first appearance, looks to them as a suspicious stranger, decked in party colours; insomuch, that a reverend friend of mine, of the ancient creed and race, told me, one day, with a smile, "Taaffe, you are very partial." To liberate myself and the history from so unwarrantable an imputation, I shall adduce two authorities, in exact unison, in their statement of the opposite parties, both above all suspicion of partiality. Thus our celebrated countryman, Dr. Jonathan Swift.

"Those insurrections wherewith the catholics are charged from the beginning of the seventeenth

century to the great English rebellion, were occasioned by many oppressions they lay under. They had no intention to introduce a new religion, but to enjoy the liberty of preserving the old; the very same which their ancestors professed from the time that christianity was first introduced into this island, which was by catholics; but whether mingled with corruptions, as some pretend, doth not belong to the question. They had no design to change the government; they never attempted to fight against, to imprison or betray, to sell, to bring to a trial, or to murder their king. The schismatics acted by a spirit directly contrary: they united in a solemn league and covenant to alter the whole system of spiritual government, established in all christian nations, and of apostolic institution; concluding the tragedy with the murder of the king in cold blood, and upon mature deliberation; at the same time changing the monarchy into a commonwealth."

"The catholics of Ireland in the great rebellion lost their estates for fighting in defence of their king; the schismatics, who cut off the father's head, forced the son to fly for life, and overturned the whole antient frame of government, religious and civil, obtained grants of those very estates which the catholics lost in defence of the antient constitution, many of which estates are at this day possessed by the posterity of those schismatics; and thus they gained by their rebellion what the catholics lost by their loyalty."*

* Swift's Works.

“ It will be difficult, to persuade those who were not eye-witnesses of the fact, that the royal authority of a christian king, which in one part of his dominions maintained the peer in his dignity, the commoner in his birth-right and liberty; which protected the weak from the oppression of the mighty, and secured the nobility from the insolence of the people; and by which, equal and impartial justice was distributed to all; should at the same time, be made use of, in another part of his dominions, to condemn innocents before they were heard, to confirm unlawful and usurped possessions, to violate the public faith, to punish virtue, and countenance vice, to hold loyalty a crime, and treason worthy of reward; in a word, to exempt so many thousands of faithful and deserving subjects, from a general pardon, which, by a mercy altogether extraordinary, was extended to some of the murderers of his royal father !”*

In their deplorable situation, the catholics of Ireland excited the compassion of Louis XIV., and he wrote in their behalf to Charles, as follows. “ Most high, most excellent, and most potent prince, our dear and well beloved brother and cousin, at the same time that we have been told of your majesty’s great goodness towards your subjects, and the precedent you have given of an extraordinary clemency, in granting them your general amnesty (some few only excepted of those whom the blood of their king, and that of his people, cry loud to heaven for revenge against)

* Sale and settlement of Ireland.

we could not but let your majesty know, that we were extremely surprised to hear, that the catholics of Ireland were excluded from that act of oblivion, and by that means put into the number of the most criminal. This news has so much the more excited our compassion towards them, that we have been informed, that in all the changes which have hitherto happened in your dominions, and in the almost general defection of your subjects, none stood more constant to their lawful sovereign, even in the greatest straits, than the catholics; so that, if they are now branded for their religion, it may be said for their honour, that, in times past, none could be found readier or more chearfully disposed than they, to serve and assist their prince; and that with so much ardour, that their zeal then for the royal family was reckoned a certain mark of their true religion. Its for that reason that we now become their intercessors to you; for otherwise, had they failed in the fidelity they owe you, instead of interceding for them, we would join with you in using them with all imaginable rigour; and it would never come into our thoughts to concern ourselves, as we do, for the catholics of Ireland, though we are obliged to it, by the last treaty of peace made with the marquis of Ormond, and which was granted to them by our mediation. And as we are well assured, that since the conclusion of that peace, they have done nothing which can be called a failure of their duty to you, we find ourselves under so much the greater obligation to conjure you to make good that

treaty to them, in that they religiously observed it on their side in all its parts; and to beseech you not to suffer that either the hatred, which an immoderate zeal swells some bigoted sectarists with, nor the unlucky spoils of these poor people, render criminal or miserable the most faithful of your subjects, to whom their lawful king, as you are, is not the less dear, nor less respected, because of a different belief from theirs. We propose nothing to ourselves in this, nor ask any thing but what we daily practice (as you may know) towards those of our subjects who are of the pretended reformed religion. And as we have commanded the *Sieur marquis de Rouvigny* to explain our sentiments on this subject more amply to you, be pleased to give him a favourable audience; and above all things be persuaded that in this affair we have no less your own true interest in view, than what natural reason and equity requires, and that our sincere friendship for you, is the principal motive of this request. Dated at Paris, the 7th of September, 1660."

The intercession of the most powerful monarch in Christendom had no effect. How could it be expected, since the fear of God, regard for his own reputation, the faith of treaties, the awful responsibility of a king for the discharge of his duty towards his subjects, confessed by himself to have been most loyal, and to have endured heavy calamities for his cause, could not move him? Unfortunate Irish! it was not enough that they were consumed by war, plague and famine, so many years, and slaughtered unmercifully by

the regicide faction; but the very family, for whom they suffered, conspired with their enemies, and shared their spoils. The instigators, the promoters of the whole mischief, the real rebels, the unfeeling murderers and robbers, were rewarded with the estates of brave but unwise Irish loyalists.

While suffering Irish catholics remained passive, groaning under mountains of unequalled misfortunes, the rebels, pampered with their spoils, were not so harmless. The insatiable crew, not yet content with all they got, conspired anew. Upon the restoring of a few innocents, legally adjudged such, "they conceived such resentment against the government, for not having divided the spoil of the whole nation among them, that they entered into two dangerous conspiracies on that account; first, in 1622,* to surprise the castle of Dublin, and afterwards in 1665, for a more desperate purpose. For, at this latter period, there was a general design con-

* "The duke of Ormond, in order to quiet the fears of these rebellious sectaries, in a letter to the speaker of the Irish commons, March 9th, 1662, very pertinently reminds them, "that the support and security of a true protestant English interest, was the earnest desire of his majesty, and the assiduous endeavour of him his servant, would clearly appear, when it should be considered, how the council and parliament were composed; and withal if it be remembered of whom the army consisted; who were in judicature in the king's courts; who were appointed by his majesty for executing the act of settlement, and who were in magistracy in the towns and counties; in which trusts, adds he, is founded the security, interests, and preference of a people."—*Com. Jour.* vol. ii. f. 299.

certed in England, Ireland and Scotland, to rise at one time, and to set up the long parliament, of which above forty members were engaged. Measures had been taken to gather together the disbanded soldiers of the old Cromwellian army; and Ludlow was to be general-in-chief. They were to rise all in one night, and to spare none that would not join in the design; which was to pull down the king, with the house of lords; and, instead of bishops, to set up a sober and painful ministry. Vast sums of money were levied for the carrying on this conspiracy, and they had corrupted the most part of the soldiers that were in freeholds; these freeholds they were to surprise, and to put all that opposed them to the sword."* In these conspiracies several presbyterian ministers, and seven members of the Irish parliament, were found to be engaged. The prisons of Dublin were crowded with these ministers, and the members of parliament were ignominiously expelled.

Having now established an English protestant interest on the lands of almost all the former proprietors, whether of English or Milesian race; having left the most of them destitute of habitations, of the implements of husbandry, manufactures, and all materials of commerce, except the export of cattle, hides, wool, in a word, provisions, and the crude materials of manufactures; would not one fancy, that this poor resource, of a desolate, impoverished people, would not be grudged to them? Yet it was. A voucher shall

* Orrery's State Letters.

come forward to attest this truth, unimpeachable with partiality for Ireland.

“ Scarcely had the act of explanation passed, in 1666, when the English commons seemed to envy that prosperity of the subjects of Ireland, which the settlement of this kingdom promised; and, notwithstanding all the solicitude expressed for the interests of a new colony of their fellow-subjects, resolved on a measure calculated at once to mortify and distress them.

“ It was found, that the rents of England had of late years decreased to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds annually. The causes of this alarming decrease were, many of them, sufficiently obvious. Persecution had driven numbers of industrious puritans to Holland and the American plantations; the trade with Spain had been diminished and interrupted; a ruinous commerce carried on with France, in which the balance against England amounted to near a million yearly. The war with Holland had produced new obstructions to trade. The plague had lessened the consumption of provisions; and even the gaiety and dissipation of the court had contributed to the public distress, by seducing the nobility to London, and suppressing the old hospitality of the country. But the interested views of some great men, who wished to embarrass the administration of Ormond, and to drive him from the government of Ireland, conspired with that disposition which the English nation hath at some times discovered, of exerting a severity over the inferiour members of their empire, and

taught the commons to ascribe the decrease of rents to another cause, the importation of Irish cattle. The annual value of the cattle sent to England, was far short of the deficiency discovered in the value of lands; and, before the troubles of England, far greater numbers had been imported without any complaints, or any decrease of rents: yet the English commons, in a violent, and most unaccountable rage of oppression, had no leisure to attend to such considerations. So early as the year 1663, they had passed a temporary act for prohibiting the importation of fat cattle from Ireland after the first day of July in every year. The inconveniences of this restraint to both countries, were represented in the strongest terms to the king. But in proportion as he seemed convinced of the impropriety of this measure, the commons were the more enflamed. In the parliament held at Oxford, in the year 1665, a bill was brought in for a perpetual prohibition of importing all cattle from Ireland, dead or alive, great or small, fat or lean.

“ In vain did Sir Heneage Finch oppose the bill, by arguments drawn from natural justice; from the rights of Englishmen, to which the subjects of Ireland were entitled; from the misery to which it must reduce the whole kingdom of Ireland; from the mischiefs which must arise from forcing the Irish to trade with other countries. In vain was it urged, that the bill would destroy a trade highly advantageous to England, which, in return for provisions and rude materials,

sent back every species of manufacture; that the industrious inhabitants of England, when deprived of Irish provisions, must augment the price of labour, and thus render their manufactures too dear to be exported; while those of Ireland, finding the value of provisions reduced, would be the less inclined to labour, and in danger of falling into the ancient barbarism of the country; that they could not pay taxes, nor maintain the forces necessary for the security of government: all these, and other powerful arguments, were totally disregarded. Some gentlemen of Ireland appeared in behalf of their country, but were refused a copy of the bill. It passed the commons by a small majority. In the lords it was opposed, particularly by the earl of Castlehaven. Sir William Petty was heard before their committee, and pleaded the cause of a country, in which, by his abilities and diligence, he had acquired a considerable interest. The report was delayed, and the parliament prorogued.

“ In the mean time, Ireland experienced the greatest distress; deprived of its usual trade with England, and disabled from any foreign commerce by the want of shipping, and the war with France and Holland.”*

The malignity of the English towards the Irish, at this period, was so unbounded, that a bounty, sent from their Irish colonists, for the relief of those who suffered by the dreadful fire of London, was ill received and misinterpreted. Nay, it was so deep-rooted, even in the higher circles,

* Leland.

that the experience of the bad effects of the prohibition on the import of Irish cattle, could not soften or allay it. This infernal temper was violently exhibited, in the conduct of both houses of parliament, on introducing, debating, and passing, a still severer prohibitory act against cattle. The very wording of the bill was not a bare act of inhuman oppression, but coupled with national insult.

“ The experience of three years had now proved the effects of restraining the importation of cattle from Ireland. The rents of England had not increased; Ireland was so reduced as to be unable to pay the subsidies granted by parliament. But Buckingham, Ashley, Lauderdale, and their party, had already vowed the destruction of the chancellor, and hated his friend Ormond, whose views and principles were so opposite to their own, and whose influence was a dangerous obstacle to that scheme of power which they meditated. Discontents were to be raised in Ireland; these might afford some pretence for removing their rival from his government; perhaps, some plausible ground for an impeachment. The passions of undiscerning men were easily enflamed. People were in general persuaded, that all their distress arose from the importation of Irish cattle; the northern and western members of the commons in particular, were transported to the utmost violence, and the bill of prohibition was eagerly resumed.

“ The king had expressed his utter abhorrence of this bill, and passionately declared, that it

never should receive his consent. The commons, on whom he depended for the maintenance of his war, were the more determined to mortify him with a full conviction of their superiour power; by declaring in the preamble of the bill, that the importation of Irish cattle was a NUSANCE, they precluded him from attempting any dispensing power in favour of the Irish subjects. They passed the bill in a rage of obstinacy, without the least attention to argument or reason. In the lords it was amended, particularly by inserting the words "detriment and mischief," in the place of "nusance." When returned to the commons, their violence seemed to be suddenly allayed. Intelligence was received of an insurrection in Scotland; they began to discern some danger in exasperating Ireland; but the insurrection was quelled, and Ireland was again deemed insignificant. They insisted on their preamble; and, in a conference between the committees of both houses, neither seemed disposed to recede. Ashley, with an affected moderation, proposed, that instead of calling the importation a nuisance, it might be declared to be felony, or a premunire. The chancellor suggested an amendment equally reasonable, and observed, that it might as properly be declared, "adultery."

"Through the whole proceedings on this bill the lords carried on their debates with all the violence of men contending for their lives, with a shameful contempt of the order and dignity of their house. The duke of Buckingham, with all the plebeian meanness of national reflection,

exclaimed, "none could oppose the bill but such as had Irish estates, or Irish understandings." This produced a challenge from lord Ossory, the admired and popular son of the duke of Ormond, which Buckingham declined to accept, chusing rather to complain to the house; and Ossory was sent to the Tower. The young earl was not dismayed. When Ashley inveighed against the Irish subscription, and all concerned in promoting it, Ossory observed, that "such virulence became none but one of Cromwell's counsellors." The partizans on each side caught the flame, and several lords seemed on the point of drawing the sword against each other. The commons apparently less enflamed, but inflexibly determined, refused to alter their preamble. Rather than resign their favourite expression, they resolved to give up the bill, and to introduce it without any amendments as a proviso to the bill of assessments. They even offered to the lords interested in Irish estates, that if they would consent to their preamble, a year's liberty should be given for the importation of cattle. The king was alarmed at this obstinacy, and the danger of losing his supplies. He directed his servants in the house of lords to consent to the word "nuisance;" and thus decided the fate of this bill. In giving it the royal assent, he could not forbear expressing his resentment at the jealousy conceived against him.

"The English nation soon felt the disadvantages of an act, which wantonly put an end to an advantageous commerce. Discerning men saw

the happy consequences which it must, in time, produce to Ireland. For the present, however, the Irish subjects were cast into despair.”*

Ireland, thus reduced to the extremity of distress; struggling with adversity, like the crew of a shipwrecked vessel on a desert island, found some relief from the chiefest planner and author of its ruin. Ormond, having reached the summit of his ambition, being created duke of Ormond, count palatine of Tipperary, with all royalties therein, and lord lieutenant of Ireland, was interested, more than any man, to give value to a soil, of which he occupied such vast scopes. Historical justice requires, that whatever good he did might be related, as well as the injuries he did.

“ All commerce was now interrupted, an. 1667; war made it necessary to guard against invasion; subsidies were due, but no money could be found. Ormond thought it both necessary and convenient to accept part of these subsidies in provisions, consulting at once the king's service and the ease of his distressed subjects. Nor was the king ill-disposed to alleviate the present difficulties of Ireland. With the consent of his council, obtained not without some reluctance, he, by an act of state, allowed a free trade from Ireland to all foreign countries, either at war or in peace with his majesty. He permitted the Irish at the same time, to retaliate on the Scots, who, copying from England, had prohibited their cattle, corn, and beef. The importation of linen and woollen ma-

* Leland.

nufactures, stockings, gloves, and other commodities from Scotland was forbidden, as highly detrimental to the trade of Ireland.

“ The exportation of Irish wool was prohibited by law, except to England by particular licence of the chief governour. Yet, in the order of council for free importation, wool was not excepted. The lords who had contended for the most unreasonable restraints on Ireland, and were declared enemies to Ormond, admitted in their debates, that wool should be included in the exportable articles. Such was their ignorance of the affairs of this kingdom, and such their inattention to the interests of England. Ormond suspected that some snare was laid, and some pretence sought for a future accusation, should he take too great liberties in an affair so delicate. Wool was not mentioned in the proclamation, nor would he consent to grant particular licences for exporting it. The Irish, forced by a necessity, which breaks through all laws and restraints, conveyed their wool by stealth to foreign countries, and have experienced the advantages of this clandestine commerce.

“ But the most effectual measure which the Irish subjects could pursue to elude the violence of an oppressive law, was that of applying themselves to manufactures, and working up their own commodities; and in this they were countenanced and encouraged by the noble spirit of their chief governour.

“ Men of abilities and knowledge in commerce were encouraged to suggest their schemes for

promoting industry, and preventing the necessity of foreign importations. Sir Peter Pett presented a memorial to the duke of Ormond, for erecting a manufacture of woollen cloth, which might at least furnish a sufficient quantity for home consumption. He chiefly recommended the making fine worsted stockings, and Norwich stuffs, which might not only keep money in the country, but be so improved, as to bring considerable sums from abroad. He offered to procure workmen from Norwich: the council of trade, lately established in Ireland, approved of his proposal; the duke of Ormond encouraged it, and erected the manufacture at Clonmel, the capital of his county-palatine of Tipperary. To supply the scarcity of workmen, Grant (a man well known by his observations on the bills of mortality) was employed to procure five hundred Walloon protestant families from Canterbury to remove to Ireland. At the same time, colonel Richard Lawrence, another ingenious projector, was encouraged to promote the business of combing wool, and making frizes. A manufacture of this kind was established at Carrick, a town belonging to the duke.

“ But of all such schemes of national improvement, that of a linen manufacture was most acceptable to Ormond. He possessed himself with the noble ambition of imitating the earl of Strafford in the most honourable part of his conduct, and opening a source of public wealth and prosperity, which the troubles and disorders of Ireland had stopped. An act of parliament was

passed at Dublin to encourage the growth of flax and manufacture of linen. Ormond was at the charge of sending skilful persons to the Low Countries, to make observations on the state of this trade, the manner of working, the way of whitening their thread, the regulations of their manufacture, and management of their grounds, and to contract with some of their most experienced artists. He engaged Sir William Temple to send to Ireland five hundred families from Brabant, skilled in manufacturing linen; others were procured from Rochelle and the isle of Rè, from Jersey and the neighbouring parts of France. Convenient tenements were prepared for the artificers at Chapel-Izod, near Dublin, where cordage, sail-cloth, ticken, linen, and diaper, were brought to a considerable degree of perfection. Such cares reflect real honour on the governor, who thus laboured to promote the happiness of the nation, and should be recorded with pleasure and gratitude, however we may be captivated by the more glaring objects of history.”*

The torpedo of this indolent reign was sometimes roused by the struggles of a faction to exclude the duke of York from the succession. Their greatest effort was Oates’s plot, planned and conducted by Shaftsbury, of which Titus Oates was the able and infamous instrument. The unprincipled and infamous machinery of false witnesses, perjuries, alarm and public delusion, employed on that occasion, belongs more properly to the history of England. However,

* Leland.

as this country feels more or less the effects of all convulsions there, the plotters endeavoured to extend their operations to Ireland. A little reflection made it appear absurd, that a popish plot should be confined to England, where there was but one papist for fifty protestants; and that nothing about it should be heard from Ireland, where there were as many catholics for one protestant. The plotters, therefore, resolved to procure auxiliaries from Ireland; "men," as Ormond said, "who thought better to live as king's evidence, than by cow-stealing, with bad English, and worse cloaths; who, as they wanted honesty to swear truly, wanted wit to swear probably." The duke of Ormond, in possession of a princely, or rather regal fortune, and having no further interest in the disturbance of his country, used all his credit and influence to counteract the fraud; and was so successful, that only one illustrious victim fell, archbishop Plunket: the account of which, to steer clear of partiality, is taken from Leland.

"Oliver Plunket, the popish archbishop of Armagh, succeeded Reily in this station; and, during the government of lord Essex, lived quietly in Ireland, recommending a peaceable submission to government, and expressing his abhorrence of all political intrigues. He even exerted his spiritual authority to restrain the turbulent temper of Peter Talbot, and to confine him within the duties of his profession. But some of the inferiors of his clergy, men of lewd lives and brutal manners, were provoked by his cen-

tures and correction, and formed the design of accusing him. He was conveyed to London; but, as these evidences had neither honesty to swear the truth, nor sense to devise a consistent tale, their first attempt was defeated. The jury, even in these days of passionate credulity, could not find a bill against Plunket. But the informers gained some accomplices, they framed their accusation a-new, and made another attack. Plunket was accused of obtaining his title and station for the purpose, and on an express compact, of raising seventy thousand men in Ireland by the contributions of the popish clergy, whose whole revenues could not equip a single regiment. This formidable body of insurgents was destined to join twenty thousand men to be furnished by France, and who were to make their descent at the port of Carlingford, a place the most inconvenient, and even impossible for the purpose. The witnesses of Plunket were detained by contrary winds, and other untoward accidents; so that he had little to urge against his accusers, but the improbability of their evidence, and solemn asseverations of his own innocence. The wretched man was condemned, and executed for a plot which he explicitly denied at his death, with the most solemn disavowal of all equivocation; and which, if he had confessed, no man at all acquainted with the circumstances of Ireland (as he pertinently observed) could have given the least credit to his dying confession."

Charles II., in the latter period of his reign, hitherto a votary of pleasure, began to feel the

monitions of conscience, and the return of his earliest religious impressions. His outward profession of the protestant religion, to whose injunctions he little attended, was mere dissimulation, a practice not uncommon with libertines; but he secretly returned to the catholic faith. This revival of his religious sentiments naturally awoke scruples, not only for his personal sins, but also his public transgressions, as sovereign. His ingratitude and injustice to the confederate catholics of Ireland, the most loyal of his subjects, whom he oppressed and despoiled in such manner as if he were the heir and executor of Cromwell's will, struck him with remorse. He was preparing some measures, to alleviate the distress of these suffering loyalists, when death snatched him away. His brother, James, duke of York, more honest and open, but incautious and precipitate, ascended the throne, an. 1684.

During the three preceding reigns, extermination in every shape, by fire, sword, famine, and pestilence, had swept away the people, and desolated the land. The intervals of peace were not free from their calamities; if that can be called a state of peace, whilst Irish catholics were sorely persecuted for their religion, and plundered of their estates by royal authority. Was it not natural for people, in such miserable, desponding plight, to rejoice at the accession of a prince of their own religion; from whose zeal for the catholic faith, and known integrity, not only toleration, but some graces and favours, might be expected, in consideration of their tried loyalty

and long sufferings for his family? How warped are the understandings of those writers, who tax the catholics with insolent demonstrations of joy and triumph on that occasion? Must the catholic be void of common human feelings, which are joy and gladness at the prospect of relief from great distress, or escape from imminent danger? Were the protestants less insolent in their demonstrations of joy at the revolution? But, unfortunate Irish, their joy was of short duration. The star of that house had a malignant and fatal influence on the affairs of Ireland; whether an enemy, as the preceding three, or [a friend, as this fourth of that race who wore the diadem. James sincerely wished to repair the wrongs done the Irish by his brother, as far as lay in his power; but, by his precipitate, ill-advised measures, he altered their situation from bad to worse. His measures, considered in the abstract, were just and rational. Yes; but circumstances must be weighed, the temper of the public mind, the state of parties, and foreign relations. Oates's plot, and the many other attempts made to exclude him from the succession, should have convinced him, that a powerful faction of his secret enemies still existed in England; that the spirit of fanaticism and puritanism was not as yet extinct; and that the great majority of his English subjects, utterly abhorring papists and Irishmen, would become ripe for rebellion on any favours granted to them. It was reasonable and worthy of a just prince, to reward the loyalty of his catholic subjects, and hasten to relieve their dis-

treason. To correct the wicked and profligate encouragement to treason and rebellion, and discouragement to loyalty, decreed by his brother, in repealing the infamous acts of settlement and explanation, would appear the natural interest of monarchy; an acceptable oblation to every crowned head, and pleadable at every bar of justice. But recourse to reason and justice, in dealing with the opposite faction, left in possession and power by his predecessor, was to argue cases of conscience with hungry wolves and ravenous tygers. To restore catholics to the state they were in before the great rebellion of England, to civil franchises and privileges, of which they were deprived by the rebel enemies of church and state, would be the natural retribution to their loyalty. But such measures should have been preceded by adequate preparations for war; as every indulgence to catholics roused the apprehensions of protestants for usurped power and plundered estates; the more suspicious and vigilant, as their title to both was illegal and unconstitutional. “ Even the rumours of changes and appointments were sufficient to alarm the English protestants. Traders sold their effects, and abandoned a country in which they expected a speedy establishment of popery, and a total confusion of property.”*

It would be hard to determine, whether the indiscretion of the king, or of the Irish, in rousing the alarm and resentment of the vigilant dragons, was most inexcusable. “ The Irish,

* Leland.

instead of waiting quietly for the effects of the king's favour, seemed rather solicitous to augment the terrors of their rivals. They boasted their correspondence with Whitehall, and their intelligence of every purpose of their favourite monarch. They talked with confidence of alterations to be made in the army; they whispered their expectations of some extraordinary changes in ecclesiastical affairs. The archbishoprick of Cashel was vacant, nor could the king be persuaded to fill it up. The popish clergy did not scruple to report that he had written to the pope to nominate a new archbishop. And, although this seems to have been the mere suggestion of their vanity, yet it soon appeared that the revenue of this, and other vacant sees, were reserved for the maintenance of the popish bishops. Orders were issued by the king's command that the catholic clergy should not be molested in the exercise of their functions; and these were soon followed by a notification of the royal pleasure, that their prelates should appear publicly in the habit of their order. The protestant clergy were prohibited from treating of controversial points in the pulpit. In this particular their conduct was strictly watched; and whoever presumed to glance the slightest reflection on popery, was instantly delated to the king, and marked as disaffected and seditious.

“ To encrease that gloom now evidently impressed on every protestant, the earl of Tyrconnel arrived in Ireland with power to command and regulate the army, independent of the lord lieu-

tenant, with particular orders for the admission of Roman catholics to the freedom of corporations, and the offices of sheriffs and justices of the peace, and with a number of new military commissions, whereby the old protestant officers were suspended, and the worst and meanest of the catholic party substituted in their place. His natural violence was enflamed by the extravagant adulations with which the popish party received their patron and protector, and prompted him to the most insolent and contemptuous treatment of the lord lieutenant. He raved of the iniquity of the acts of settlement, of misconduct in the whole administration of Ireland, of the baseness and disloyalty of particular persons. He proceeded to execute the king's commands with furious impatience: officers and private men were dismissed from the army, without any plausible cause assigned, frequently with abuse and contumely, sometimes with injustice and cruelty. Their places were supplied by Irish catholics; and, in all preferments, those Irish only were taken in, who entertained the highest notions of the authority of the pope. The vulgar, in their astonishing ignorance, when they had taken the oath of fidelity, imagined that they had sworn fidelity to the pope and their religion, and declared that their priests had forbidden them to take any other oath.

“ The king's instructions to Tyrconnel implied no more than that all subjects indiscriminately should be admitted to serve his majesty, without regard to their religious principles; but this

lord issued strict orders that none but catholics should be admitted into the army. Lord Clarendon was offended, and remonstrated against a conduct which must enflame the jealousies already raised amongst the king's subjects. Tyrconnel was for a moment confounded, and had the meanness to deny his own orders. But lord Roscommon, with the spirit of a soldier, asserted to his face, that he and other officers had received these orders from him in terms the most peremptory and explicit.

“ The bolder and more violent of the popish party declared, that in a few months not one protestant would be left in the army; and now that they had gotten arms, they would speedily regain their lands. Some of the old proprietors cautioned the tenants against paying any rent to their English landlords; and, with the same insolence, some popish clergy forbid the people to pay tythes to protestant incumbents. . . . Heads of a bill were framed, with a plausible semblance of relieving the distressed and injured Irish, which unhinged the whole settlement of Ireland, and gave the king power over the greater part of its lands. Rice was commissioned to lay this favourite scheme before the English council, and Nugent obtruded himself as his colleague. They were received coldly by the ministers; but James, without any previous conference with the cabinet, where he apprehended some opposition, introduced their scheme to the privy-council, declaring warmly against the iniquity of the acts of settlement. To those who yet retained a regard

to the interests of their kinsmen and countrymen, it appeared at first view so violent and dangerous, that the agents were with difficulty admitted to be heard. And however plausibly Rice supported his project, the weakness and futility of Nugent rendered it contemptible. They were insulted even in the royal presence, and dismissed with disgrace. The populace were soon informed of their ill-success; they attended them with potatoes elevated on poles, and roared out in scorn, “Room for the Irish ambassadors!” Such are the general accounts of this transaction. Sunderland, in his apology, claims the merit of their disappointment; and declares, that he rejected a bribe of forty thousand pounds offered for his support of this project.”*

These proceedings were entirely rash and precipitate. Strong, well disciplined, and well appointed armies, should be at hand to support its execution, even if carried. The insults of the London mob, to the bearers of the Irish petition, are characteristic of their national brutality; delighting to gall and fret the victims of their tyrannic oppression, by reproaching them with the poverty malignantly inflicted on the tenants of a land more fertile than their own. The disappointment of the catholic loyalists, on this occasion, was but measure for measure, though the retaliation came not from the injured; for the confederates of Kilkenny scouted a similar petition from the remains of the illustrious northern families, perfidiously and tyrannically di-

* Leland.

vested of their patrimonies by the grandfather of James II.

I like to remind every reader of these visible demonstrations of retributive justice, and sovereign intelligence, directing the destiny of nations and families; and verifying the gospel precept, "the measure which you measure unto others, the same shall be measured unto you." The fall of the house of Stuart is another striking instance of this.

While James was incautiously and improvidently endeavouring to redress the wrongs of his catholic Irish subjects, he was not aware of the plots, concerted between the prince of Orange and his protestant subjects, to dethrone him. Wonderful indeed it must seem, at the present day, that a king of England could be unacquainted with the naval armaments, and warlike preparations, carried on in a country so contiguous, and connected by commercial intercourse, political and family relations, as Holland, and all Europe knew the design of which he remained ignorant. Beset by the spies and tools of his son-in-law, he was totally kept in the dark, with regard to the plans and operations of his enemies. Warned by Louis XIV. and by Tyrconnel, viceroy of Ireland, of the impending invasion from Holland; lulled into a fatal security, by the false protestations of his nephew and son-in-law, Orange; and the treacherous assurances of Sunderland, and other traitorous ministers, he disregarded every warning, until overtaken by the storm, when he was not prepared to avert it. Never was

a monarch so unfortunate, in all his friends, connexions and servants. Invaded by his nephew and son-in-law, William; deceived and betrayed by his children, his brother-in-law, his ministers and favourites. Dismayed at this unexpected invasion, of one of his nearest kindred; the defection of those, in whom he might naturally repose confidence, he fled into France, with his family.

It is worthy of observation, that the only part of this kingdom, which revolted against the house of Stuart, were the English and Scotch planters, whom that unfortunate and dishonest family enriched with the spoils of the loyal Irish.

Anonymous letters and plots, have been serviceable engines to the designs of this party; and accordingly, on this occasion, “ a letter was addressed by an unknown person to lord Mount-Alexander, in the county of Down, warning him of a general massacre intended by the Irish. The style was mean and vulgar; nor was the information on that account less plausible: it was confident and circumstantial, and pointed out Sunday the ninth day of December, as the precise time when this bloody design was to be executed, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. The like intelligence was conveyed to some other gentlemen of the northern province. And whether these letters were the contrivance of artifice, or the effect of credulity, their influence was wonderful. Men habitually possessed with horror of Irish barbarity, who in the very scene of all the sufferings of their fathers, had listened from their infancy to hideous narratives

of the insurrection in the year sixteen hundred and forty-one, who were now exposed to the insolence and violence of the Irish, and ready to catch the alarm at the least appearance of commotion, could not hesitate a moment to give credit to these informations. They were confirmed by some suspicious circumstances. Popish priests had announced to their congregations what they called "a secret intention," and enjoined them to stand ready armed to obey their orders. It was remembered, that a friar at Derry had preached with unusual energy on the subject of Saul's destroying the Amalekites, and the iniquity of sparing those whom divine vengeance had devoted to destruction. Lord Mount Alexander's letter was instantly sent to Dublin; copies multiplied; the intelligence was conveyed through all orders of men. In a moment the capital became a scene of uproar and confusion; the guards of the lord deputy stood astonished; the castle bridge was drawn up, while a tumultuous crowd of men, women, and children, ran precipitately to the shore, imploring to be conveyed away from the daggers of the Irish. In vain did Tyrconnel dispatch two lords to assure them of security and protection; their remonstrances were drowned in clamour, shrieking, and wailing. An unusual number of vessels lay in the harbour; the people crowded them in an extacy of terroure and impatience, leaving their less successful friends stupified with expectation of the fatal blow.

"The dreadful intelligence was soon con-

veyed to every part of Ireland. In some places it was received on the very day assigned for the massacre. The people started suddenly from their devotions, fled astonished, propagated the panic, and thus swelled the crowds of fugitives; some gained the coast, and were transported to England, others sought shelter in walled towns and protestant settlements, leaving their effects and habitations to the mercy of Irish plunderers. In the northern counties, where the protestants were most numerous, they collected the arms still left among them, resolving to defend themselves, and already meditating the design of rising against the present government.

“Of all the northern cities, Derry, or Londonderry, (as it was called) afforded principal shelter to the fugitive protestants. Seated on the west side of the lake Foyle, it maintained a communication, by a ferry, with the county called by the same name with the capital: it was surrounded by a firm wall, strengthened by bastions, but was by no means sufficient to sustain the siege of a regular army. On the first alarm of an invasion of England by the prince of Orange, Tyrconnel had recalled the garrison of this city to Dublin. It consisted of a regiment well disciplined and appointed; it was under the command of lord Mountjoy, son of primate Boyle; and being for the most part composed of protestants, was acceptable to the inhabitants. Tyrconnel soon perceived the error of leaving this city to the government of the townsmen, and detached the earl of Antrim’s regiment, consisting entirely

of papists, Irish, and Highlanders, to take their quarters in Derry. A body of twelve hundred men, tall and terrible in their aspect, followed by a crowd of women and children, arrived at a village called Limavaddy, within twelve miles of Derry, at the very moment when the inhabitants received the informations of an intended massacre, and were deliberating on this important intelligence. The proprietor of this village was terrified at the disorder and turbulence of a body, which, in this time of suspicion, seemed rather the instruments of slaughter and barbarity, than the regular forces of government. He instantly dispatched the most alarming accounts to Derry of the number, appearance, and destination of his guests, conjuring the citizens to shut their gates against the barbarous crew. His letter found them already alarmed by the general reports of danger. They were collected in their streets, conferring earnestly, some resolute, some wavering, some wishing to exclude the popish forces without appearing to take part in the attempt. Tomkins and Norman, two aldermen, consulted the bishop: the bishop, cautious from years, and, by his principles, an enemy to resistance, preached peace and submission. Some graver citizens concurred with him; others affected to concur. The troops approached; two of their officers were already in the town to provide quarters; an advanced party appeared within three hundred yards of the Ferry-gate. In this critical moment, nine young men of the populace, with an enthusiastic ardour, drew their swords,

snatched up the keys of the city, raised the draw-bridge, locked the Ferry-gate, were instantly joined by numbers of their own rank, secured the other gates, assembled in the great square, deaf to all timid councils and remonstrances, seized the magazine, and were soon countenanced and applauded by men of better condition. The body of inhabitants caught the same spirit, and declared for a brave defence. Their numbers were quickly encreased by a conflux from the neighbouring districts; the magazine afforded them some few arms, and a small quantity of ammunition. Philips of Limavaddy, the man who first encouraged them to this enterprize, was chosen their governour. They threatened to fire on the king's soldiers, and conjured their neighbours to concur with them in defence of their lives, their properties, and religion.

“ To the society of London they transmitted an account of their dangers and proceedings; and Cairnes the most considerable of their party, was commissioned to solicit succours from the prince of Orange. At the same time, their magistrates and graver citizens, anxious for the event of an enterprize commenced under every disadvantage, addressed themselves to lord Mountjoy, and, by his mediation, to Tyrconnel. They set forth their utter inability to restrain the populace, terrified by the rumours of a massacre, and the outrages of the new-raised regiment; ascribing their insurrection to providence, who had stirred them up for their own safety and the public peace, against the wild attempts

of the northern Irish. They declared their resolution to confine themselves entirely to self-defence, without violating their allegiance; at the same time, they represented the vast number of northern protestants who had been driven to take arms from the same fears, and for the same purposes.

“ Tyrconnel, too-late, perceived his errour in withdrawing his garrison from Derry, and endeavoured to correct it. Lord Mountjoy, and Lundy his lieutenant-colonel, were instantly remanded to Ulster with six companies, and ordered to reduce this city, Mountjoy, a protestant lord, was highly acceptable to the inhabitants; his popish forces they detested. They disclaimed all mutinous and seditious purposes, but still expressed their firm purpose to defend themselves. After various conferences, Mountjoy was admitted upon conditions. It was particularly stipulated, that a free pardon should be granted within fifteen days; that, in the mean time, two companies only should be quartered in the city; that the forces afterwards admitted should be formed one half of protestants at least; that until the pardon were received the citizens should keep the guards; and that all should be left at liberty who desired to remove. Tyrconnel had now the mortification of finding the people of Derry assuming the power of purging and modelling his forces, and dismissing and disarming his popish soldiers. Mountjoy assumed the command of their city, and was obeyed as a friend and associate. By his advice the arms were re-

paired, money cheerfully subscribed, ammunition purchased in Scotland, and Cairnes the agent earnestly solicited to procure supplies.

“ The northern protestants beheld the spirit of the men of Derry with a generous emulation. Enniskillen, the only borough-town in the county of Fermanagh, situated on an island in the narrow part of Lake Erne, and inhabited by a few resolute protestants, refused admittance to two companies of Tyrconnel’s popish army. In Downe, Donnegal, Tyrone, Armagh, Monaghan, parties arose under the direction of Mount-Alexander, Blaney, Rawdon, Skeffington, and other leaders. Their associations were published in the several counties, declaring, that they had united for self-defence and the protestant religion; that they resolved to act in subordination to the government of England, and to promote a free parliament. County councils were nominated, and a general council, to meet at Hillsborough, which appointed officers, and directed the operations of the associated body.”*

To obtain supplies from France, Tyrconnel sent ambassadors, Mountjoy, whose influence he dreaded, and Rice, on whom he relied. On their arrival Mountjoy was committed to the Bastile, while Rice laboured to effect the object of his mission, which the folly of James counteracted. Louvois, prime minister to Louis XIV. proffered ample supplies of men, money and arms, to this unfortunate monarch, with the request, that, commanded by his son, he might have the honor

* Leland.

of preserving one crown for his majesty. This James weakly refused. The friendship of Louvois now changed into an implacable enmity, that he gratified at the destruction of the best interests of his master; the fatal effects of which James amply experienced.

“ The earl of Tyrconnel, lord lieutenant of Ireland, having rejected all the advantageous offers made him by the prince of Orange, and by his firmness retained all the kingdom in obedience, except the northern part, which had declared for the revolution, James resolved to go and join him, and take with him some French general officers. M. de Rosen, lieutenant-general, was given to him, to command the army under Tyrconnel; M. de Momont, major-general, to serve as lieutenant-general; and M. M. de Pussignan and Ery, brigadiers, to be major-generals; Boisselau, a captain in the guards, was sent to be adjutant-general; and L'Estrade, Guidon in the life-guards, to be quarter-master-general of cavalry. In the month of February, he set out for Brest, where his most christian majesty had equipped a squadron of thirty men of war, commanded by M. de Gabaret. When these monarchs took leave of each other, Louis told king James, that the best thing he could wish him was, never to see him again. James set sail with the first favourable wind; but was obliged to return into port, his ship having been run foul of and damaged by another man of war, off Camaret. As soon as the vessel was refitted, he set sail again, and arrived at Kinsale on the

17th of March. Tyrconnel went to meet him at Cork, where he was created a duke. He gave an account of the state of affairs, and of the number of troops he had levied. The people made demonstrations of extraordinary joy in all parts, having never seen a king in the kingdom, since Henry II.

On his arrival in Dublin, addresses poured in upon him from all parts. The protestant clergy he assured of protection and redress. The university he promised to defend, and enlarge its privileges. Five proclamations were issued. 'The first ordered all protestants, lately left the kingdom, to return, under the severest penalties; and his subjects of every persuasion, to unite against the prince of Orange. The second commanded all the catholics, not in the army, to lay up their arms in their places of abode. The third invited the country to carry provisions to his troops. The fourth raised the value of money. The fifth summoned a parliament to meet in Dublin, the 7th of May, 1689.

Gen. Hamilton had previously marched to reduce the north. The duke of Berwick went to his support. Colerain was abandoned on their approach. At Cladiford, on the river Straban, the northerns to the number of ten thousand, attempted to prevent their progress. Part of the bridge was broken down, opposite to which some infantry was posted, well intrenched. Only three hundred and fifty foot, and six hundred horse of the Irish army had come up. The rest were left near Straban. 'The infantry advanced to the bro-

ken bridge, and by their fire forced them to abandon their intrenchment. At this moment the cavalry swam across, and the infantry, by means of planks, crossed the bridge, took possession of the intrenchment, and fired upon the main body drawn up on a rising ground. Panic struck at this bold action, the northerns took to flight, leaving 400 dead on the field.

The reduction of Derry now became an object of the first importance. To effect it, the presence of James was deemed necessary. Having joined M. de Rosen, he put himself in motion towards St. John's-town, and came before Derry, without apprizing Hamilton of his design, who had summoned the inhabitants to surrender. They had returned an answer, that they would send a deputation in two days to treat with him, but insisted that the troops should not approach nearer than St. John's-town, which Hamilton promised. Seeing the remainder of the army appear before the city, they imagined that there was an intention to surprise them, and that Hamilton had given his promise only with a view of more easily effecting it; so that when James caused them to be summoned, they gave no answer but the fire of their cannon. This caused the Irish army to draw off to some distance, being unprepared for the siege, which they converted into a blockade. James returned to Dublin, to assemble an army to oppose that of William, then expected, under Schomberg.

The command of the besieging army now devolved upon Momont and Hamilton; de Rosen

having accompanied James to Dublin. The besieged prepared for a vigorous defence. Walker, an ecclesiastic, chosen governor, fought and preached alternately. Eighteen clergymen of the established church, seven non-conformist teachers, shared the dangers of the siege, and harangued their flocks. To strengthen the garrison, four hundred foot, and seven hundred horse, under Berwick, Hamilton, Momont and Pusignan, occupied Culmore. Three battalions and nine squadrons were posted at St. Johnstown, and four battalions two miles from Derry, on the same side, under the command of brigadier Ramsay. Brigadier Wauchope was on the other side of the river, opposite Derry, with two battalions, some cavalry, and some small field pieces. To occupy Pennibom, a mile from the city, colonel Hamilton and two hundred foot were detached on the 21st of April 1689. The besieged, observing this detachment, sallied out. Fifteen hundred foot and three hundred horse advanced. Hamilton took post behind the hedges, and in the houses of Pennibom, and sent for assistance. The cavalry were foraging. Two troops, forty men each, were collected; arrived at the moment the assailants were formed for the attack; instantly charged their cavalry, broke, and pursued it nearly into the town; on which the foot retreated without molestation. Having to sustain the fire of the infantry in their charge, the loss was severe. Momont, major Taaffe, and six or seven, were killed; but not one escaped without himself or his horse being wounded.

The force at Penniborn was now augmented to 500 foot; but on the 25th, about nine in the morning, the besieged made a vigorous sally, with from seven to eight thousand men. The post was nearly forced, when Ramsay's forces arrived, at seven in the evening, attacked the assailants in the rear, and compelled them to return precipitately into the town. The duke of Berwick, and Pointy, a French brigadier, were wounded; and general Pusignan mortally.

Besieging artillery being now expected from Dublin, the Irish army endeavoured to take possession of the most commanding situations for their batteries. With this view Ramsay attacked a windmill, which stood on an eminence within half cannon shot of the city; behind it was a bottom on which he meant to encamp. The post was defended with great bravery; at length the whole town sallying out, he was defeated with considerable loss. Ramsay and 200 of his men were killed, many wounded, and several officers of distinction made prisoners. Apprised of the importance of this post, the mill was covered with an intrenchment, which Wauchope, Ramsay's successor, vainly endeavoured to force; at an increased loss of several officers, and at least a hundred men.

After these trials of the obstinacy, number and bravery of the besieged, the Irish army encamped opposite the front of the place, at long musket shot distance, behind a rising ground. A few days after six pieces of heavy artillery arrived; there were thirty in the town, which was defended

by about ten thousand men. The besieging force amounted to from five to six thousand.* About the same time de Rosen, some French engineers and matrosses arrived, to commence the attack. The besieged continued to defend themselves obstinately, though disease and famine thinned their numbers. A convoy for their relief appeared, but feared to approach the town. After repeated summonses de Rosen threatened, to drive all of their faction under the walls, unless they surrendered. Still the garrison held out. The threat was enforced. They were refused admittance. After three days, by the orders of James, they were permitted to return. On the 30th of July, seven weeks after their first appearance, the English convoy, under Kirk, advanced up the river; the first vessel broke the stockade, that had been made near Culmore fort, and entered the town. De Rosen, seeing the garrison relieved, immediately raised the siege, and returned to Dublin, leaving a strong garrison in Charlemount.

The Irish army was now almost reduced to nothing. At Lismaken, 5000 men, under Macarthy, were destroyed by the Enniskilleners, Galway, who had advanced to restrain their incursions, was also defeated. Berwick alone was successful. Two hundred of their infantry were put to the sword, and their cavalry driven to the intrenchments of Enniskillen.

On the 13th of August Schomberg arrived. Ninety sail conveyed his well appointed army into the bay of Carrickfergus. The duke of Ber-

* Berwick's Memoirs.

wick, with 1000 foot, and 600 horse, marched to Newry, to retard his progress as much as possible, to gain time to form a new army. The siege of Carrickfergus served the same purpose. Had he marched straight forward without amusing himself, he would have got to Dublin before James could have been in a condition to oppose him.* After four days open trenches the garrison surrendered, on condition of marching out with flying colours, arms, lighted matches, and their own baggage; and to be conducted by a squadron of horse to the nearest garrison of James's. But such was the virulent enmity of the Ulster Scots, and Schomberg's troops, to these soldiers, that, no sooner was the garrison in their power, than, without regard to faith, they fell furiously upon them, deprived them of their arms, plundered the most helpless, and were restrained from murder only by the vigorous interposition of Schomberg.†

Berwick appeared determined to maintain himself at Newry; works were ordered to be raised; Schomberg slowly advanced, encamped at the distance of two miles, and at the head of fourteen squadrons came to reconnoitre. The country was full of little eminences; Berwick placed vedets upon all of them, took his post upon a hill in the center, with two troops only, and ordered the trumpets to sound a flourish. The countenance he assumed confirmed Schomberg in the opinion, that he must have a consi-

* Berwick's Memoirs.

† Leland.

derable force. He then delivered out ammunition to his infantry, intending to force the post next morning with his whole army, but Berwick retreated in the night to Dundalk, and two days after to Drogheda.

The exertions of the duke of Tyrconnel had now collected an army of twenty-two thousand men, but very indifferently armed. His resolution was to advance. Accordingly the army marched to Affyn-bridge, three miles from Dundalk, where Schomberg was encamped with his whole army, consisting of twenty thousand men. A few days after the Irish army drew up in a plain, within sight of the enemy, offering battle; but Schomberg continued in his post, and they in their camp, till the end of October, when both armies went into winter quarters. Schomberg abandoned Dundalk, where he had lost half of his troops with disorders, occasioned by the unwholsomeness of the air, which the Irish occupied, and established a considerable quarter there.

M. de Rosen returned to France, to his great satisfaction, as well as that of all the officers of the Irish army, who could not endure him. He was a Livonian, and had commenced service in France, in the regiment of the old general Rosen. M. d'Avaux, the French ambassador, was also recalled. His haughty and disrespectful manner had disgusted James. The duke of Lausun with seven French battalions, was sent in his place. But this small reinforcement was by no means sufficient; especially as lord Mount Cashel and five regiments of Irish foot, were sent to France

in exchange.* However such an exchange might have been warranted by theory or authority, James had the mortification to find his new allies refractory and disobedient. They knew and acknowledged no superior but Latham; and this general attended not to the interest of the king, but that of his troops: he considered himself as in an enemy's country, and lived at free quarter.†

The army of Schomberg gradually assumed a formidable appearance. Clothes, arms, ammunition and provisions arrived daily in Belfast. Some regiments had arrived from England and Scotland, and he now received an accession of seven thousand Danes, commanded by prince Wirtemberg. To extend his quarters, brigadier Wolchely was detached to seize upon Belturbet. To watch his motions, Berwick, with fifteen hundred foot and two hundred horse, arrived at Cavan. Notwithstanding his precautions, the enemy were in sight of his advanced posts, when the alarm was given. He immediately led his troops to a height on the right of the town, where he drew them up at a little distance, in front of a mud fort, in which he had a garrison. The design of the assailants was to get possession of this height, and attack the fort. But ignorant of his arrival, and discovering more troops than the mere garrison could amount to, they formed in order of battle, three thousand foot and three hundred horse. The duke of Berwick advanced, drove them from hedge to hedge to the brink of the

* Berwick's Memoirs.

† Leland.

hill, which they began to descend in disorder, when brigadier Nugent, and many officers of his regiment, retiring from the field, wounded, a panic seized the troops, and, in a moment, from being conquerors they became conquered. All the foot fled into the fort, without it being possible to rally them on the outside. The cavalry, unmolested, retreated twelve miles. The English continued half an hour on the field of battle, and then retreated to Belturbet. In this action they lost between two and three hundred men, the Irish five hundred.

The only frigate that remained in the service of James, was now captured in his sight, by Sir Cloudesly Shovel, in the bay of Dublin.

The fort of Charlemont was also lost. Blockaded early in spring, provisions began to fail, when colonel Mac Mahon with four or five hundred men, some ammunition and provision, entered the town on the 2nd of May 1690. The slender supply introduced by this additional force, soon failed. The distress of the besieged increased. Their additional numbers only served to hasten on the famine; they therefore attempted to return, but were repeatedly driven back with slaughter. The governor, exasperated at their ill success, compelled them to lodge on the countercarp and dry ditch within the palisades. On the 13th of May, famine compelled Teig O'Regan, the governor, to surrender. The defenders obtained honourable terms. "The day following, the garrison marched out, to the number of eight hundred effective men, besides many women and

children. 'Schomberg' enquired the reason, why so many useless mouths were kept in the garrison, to consume the provisions. He was answered, that the Irish were naturally hospitable, and that they all fared alike; nor would the soldiers stay in the garrison, without their wives and mistresses." To which he replied, "that there was more love than policy in it." As indeed there was, for they had no provisions left, except a little dirty meal, and part of a quarter of musty beef; so that as they marched out, several of the soldiers were devouring pieces of dried hides with hair on. Duke Schomberg ordered every Irish soldier a loaf out of the stores of Armagh, and the officers were all civilly entertained. Seventeen pieces of cannon, mostly brass, one mortar, eighty-three barrels of powder, bombs, grenades, &c. were found in the fort."*

On the 14th of June, 1690, James's sons-in-law, William and George of Denmark, accompanied by the young duke of Ormond, the earls of Oxford, Scarborough and Manchester, and many other persons of distinction, were received at Carrickfergus, by duke Schomberg, the prince of Wirtemberg, Kirk, and other officers of distinction. His forces were ordered to take the field: 'He came not to Ireland to let grass grow under his feet,' was his answer to the cautious counsels of his officers. At Loughbrickland his army mustered, at the lowest estimate, thirty-six thousand men, English, Dutch, French, Danes, and Brandenburgers, all well appointed in every

* Harris's Life of king William.

respect. Having adjusted the plan of the campaign, William marched from thence to Newry, while the fleet coasted slowly in view to supply them with every necessary.*

James left Dublin the 16th of June, with 6000 French infantry, and joined that part of his army which was advanced as far as Castletown Bellew, near Dundalk, under the command of M. Gerardin, one of his lieutenant-generals. He encamped there, having the town on his right, a small river in his front, which discharges itself into the sea at Dundalk, and facing the high grounds. The French and the greatest part of his troops repaired to this camp.

While William halted at Newry three or four days, waiting for his artillery, and deliberating whether he should march straight to Dundalk, or take the road by Armagh, which is a little about, one of his reconnoitering parties was observed every night to insult a guard of cavalry, posted at the pass of Halfway bridge, between Dundalk and Newry. A detachment of horse and foot was placed in ambuscade, under colonel Dempsey and lieutenant-colonel Fitzgerald to cut it off, and succeeded. The party, consisting of two hundred foot, and sixty dragoons, fell into the ambuscade at day break, and was almost entirely cut off or taken with very little loss on the side of the Irish, except colonel Dempsey, who died of his wounds. As the army of William advanced, that of James retreated. To Ardee, on the 28rd, to Dumlane the 27th, and on the 28th

* Harris's Life of king William.

passed the Boyne, and encamped opposite the bridge, with the right towards Drogheda, and the left extending up the river. This appeared to James a tolerable good post, and the best in the country; he therefore resolved to continue there, and wait his enemy's approach, though his army did not amount to more than twenty thousand men, and that of William was between forty and fifty thousand.*

At the first dawn of morning, on the last day of June, the army of William appeared, advancing towards the river, where it was fordable almost in every part. His infantry was opposite to Old-bridge, their left towards Drogheda; his wing of cavalry was drawn up on an eminence so near the river, that James ordered some pieces of cannon to be brought up, which obliged them to retire behind the hill. It was upon this occasion that William had his shoulder grazed by one of the two first bullets. At noon his artillery arrived, and cannonaded the Irish camp, with little effect, till the close of day.

While James foreseeing that the river would be crossed at Slane, and that the passage at Old-bridge would be attempted to be forced, had posted Sir Neal O'Neal's regiment of dragoons at Slane, and ordered his baggage to be in readiness to march, William ordered that the river should be passed in three different places; by his right wing, commanded by count Schomberg, son of the duke, and general Douglas, on the west, at some fords near the bridge of Slane; by

* King James's Memoirs.

the center commanded by duke Schomberg, in front of the Irish camp; and by the left wing, led by himself, at a ford between the army and the town of Drogheda. At midnight William rode through his camp with torches, inspected every post, and issued his final orders.

The first of July, before day, the general beat in his camp. At sunrise count Schomberg with the cavalry, and general Douglas with the infantry, which composed the right wing, marched towards Slane. James immediately ordered his left to oppose them, and sent the baggage to Dublin. For near an hour Sir Neal O'Neal's dragoons disputed the passage, till the cannon of this division had arrived, when they retreated in good order, with the loss of fifty men: their colonel was shot in the thigh, and one or two officers besides were wounded. Douglas advanced, formed, mixing horse and foot, squadron with battalion; on the arrival of more infantry they changed their position, drawing the horse to the right. Having thus considerably outflanked their opponents, M. de Lausun marched his left abreast of them to observe their motions. James at the same time came up to the right of his army, to order all the troops to follow M. de Lausun; certain that the main body would follow their right wing. At Old-bridge he found the duke of Tyrconnel, with the horse and dragoons of the right wing, and the two first brigades of the line, drawn up. These were not moved. The rest of the foot filed off after M. de Lausun. At the head of the corps de reserve, composed of

Parcel's and Brown's regiments of foot, James marched, till they joined the rear of the infantry that was following M. de Lausun. He then ordered Sir Charles Carny, who commanded the reserve, to place himself on the right of the first line of foot before him, in order to form a sort of wing: he passed after this along the line, and found M. de Lausun, and the right of the English army, in form of battle, opposite to each other, at half musket shot distance.*

Meanwhile the passage at Old-bridge was forced. The Dutch first entered the river on the right, opposite Old-bridge. The French huguenots, Enniskilleners, Brandenburgers and English, at several passes to the left. The regiment posted in the village was dislodged. The Dutch advanced. Seven battalions of Irish infantry, of the first line, which were drawn up behind an eminence, now moved forward boldly, under a severe fire, close up to them; but observing the cavalry passing the river, they gave way, notwithstanding all the efforts of Dorrington and the other officers to stop them; in which Arundel, Ashton, Dungan, Fitzgerald, and two or three more captains lost their lives. The marquis d'Harquincourt was also killed there, with several others of his brigade: Parker, lieutenant-colonel of the guards, and major Arthur, were wounded, the latter died the same day. The duke of Tyrconnel attempted to rally them, but in vain. The right wing, however, of horse and dragoons advanced, and charged all the troops

* King James's Memoirs.

that passed the river, as well foot as horse; but lord Dungan being killed, the dragoons could never be brought again to the charge: Clares's did not do much better. The horse still did their duty with great bravery; and if they were not able to break the infantry, it was more owing to the unfavourableness of the ground, than to a want of vigour; for after having been repulsed by the infantry, they returned several times to the charge against the horse, and broke them every time.* Tyrconnel and Parker's regiments suffered most on this occasion. Powel and Vaudrey, both lieutenants in the guards, and the greater part of the exempts and brigadiers of both corps, were killed; as were likewise the earl of Carlingford, M. d'Amande, and several other volunteers, that served with them. Nugent and Casanova were wounded in Tyrconnels, major O'Meara, and Sir Charles Tooke were killed, and Bada wounded. In Parker's, the colonel was wounded, lieutenant-colonel Green, major Doddington, and several other officers, killed; and in both squadrons of this regiment, there remained but thirty men unhurt. Sunderland was wounded; but his regiment did not suffer much. At length, this wing was so overpowered by numbers, and suffered so much, that it could no longer maintain its ground. Lieutenant-general Hamilton was wounded and taken prisoner in the last charge. The duke of Berwick, after having a horse killed under him, was beat down, trampled upon, and with great diffi-

* King James's Memoirs.

culty saved. The victors also lost several persons of distinction; among whom was marshal Schomberg, la Caillemote, and two more colonels. Walker, a dissenting minister, remarkable in the defence of Derry; and the lieutenant-colonel of Schomberg's regiment; which regiment, as well as the life-guards of William, was severely handled.

While James hesitated, an aid-de-camp reported the defeat of his right. He determined on attacking the force that had crossed at Slane, before the troops were acquainted with the disaster. M. de la Hoguette was ordered to lead on the French infantry, the dragoons were dismounted, and Lausun on the point of advancing, when Sarsfield and Maxwell reported, that it was impossible for the horse to charge, there being between them and the enemy two double ditches with very high banks, and a rivulet running along the valley which separated the two armies. At the same instant, the English dragoons mounted, and their line began to file off by their right. The whole army of William had crossed. Thus situated, James commenced his retreat by the left, for the brook of Duleek. The duke of Berwick came up with his cavalry just as the last had passed the defile. William's cavalry came up at the same time; and compelled him to pass at full speed, in great disorder. The Irish army rallied on the other side, halted, and formed in order of battle. William formed opposite, but did not advance. After some time, the retreat was continued to Dublin unmolested, in such

order, as to gain the commendation of their enemies. The loss of the Irish in this battle did not exceed one thousand men; Hamilton's and Berwick's troops only being engaged.* That of William was inconsiderable, did not exceed five hundred.

Attended by Sarafield's regiment, James arrived in Dublin; assembled the magistrates, declared his inability to protect them; then hastened to Waterford, and embarked for France. Most of his army marched through Dublin, for Limerick, rejoicing at the flight of their king, which relieved them from the embarrassment of a leader, who had no sincere concern for their interests; every colonel was ordered to conduct his own regiment by whatever route he thought proper. The French under the command of brigadier M. de Surlaube composed the rear; all the rest of the French had taken the road to Cork and Kinsale, in order to embark. The duke of Tyrconnel and M. de Lausun also repaired to Limerick.

William continued to advance slowly, and encamped at Finglas on the fourth. "His first measures after his arrival in Dublin, were highly impolitic, if not unjust. He promised, by a declaration, to pardon and protect such of the lower sort as should, in a little time, surrender their arms; but he excepted the gentry, whom he resolved to abandon to all the rigours of war and conquest. He issued a commission for seizing all their estates and effects, though no court

* Berwick's Memoirs.

of judicature was open to proceed according to law. The eagerness of his followers for forfeitures suspended every idea of justice. The commissioners executed their power with the utmost rigour. They even ruined a country which they endeavoured to appropriate to themselves. Public misery, persecution, and confusion, prevailed every where. The king himself was either not sincere in his offers of money to the vulgar, or he possessed no authority to restrain the license of his army. His declaration was disregarded, his protections slighted. Revenge, wantonness, and avarice induced men to break through every form of decency, and every tie of faith. Despair animated the Irish to a renewal of hostilities, as submission produced nothing but oppression, injustice and ruin.*

William now divided his army. Solicitous to gain a secure station for his transports, he hastened his march. Wexford had declared for him; Clonmell was abandoned; Waterford was summoned. The garrison demanded the enjoyment of their estates, the freedom of their religion, and liberty to march out with arms and baggage. The last article only was admitted; they accepted it, and surrendered. The governor of Duncannon demanded time to consult Tyrconnel; but refused, boldly declared he would take it. The approach of the army and of Sir Cloudesley Shovel with sixteen frigates, compelled him to accept the same conditions as Waterford. On the appearance of the French fleet on the English coast,

* Macpherson's Hist. of England.

William made preparations for his departure; but his fears were dissipated. After destroying the inconsiderable village of Timmouth, they returned to port, and he continued the prosecution of the Irish war.

In the mean time Douglas continued his destructive route to Athlone, with ten regiments of foot, and five regiments of horse. "He marched as through an enemy's country; his men plundering, and even murdering with impunity, in defiance of the royal proclamation, or the formal orders of their general. As he advanced, the Irish peasantry appeared successively in considerable bodies to claim the benefit of king William's declaration; and were successively ensnared by assurances of protection, and exposed to all the violences of the soldiers. An army, abhorred and execrated, at length appeared before Athlone. To the summons sent by Douglas, the governour, Grace, a brave old officer, returned a passionate defiance; "These are my terms," said he, "firing a pistol at the messenger." His garrison consisted of three regiments of foot, nine troops of dragoons, and two of horse, with a larger body encamped at a small distance to support them, all violently exasperated against the besiegers, and encouraged by false rumours of the death of William, of insurrections and of invasions in England. That part of Athlone, which lay on the eastern side of the Shannon, and was called the English town, Grace deemed indefensible; he had, therefore, set fire to it, and broken the fair stone bridge built by Sir Henry Sidney,

in the reign of Elizabeth, resolving to maintain the Irish district on the west. About two hundred yards above it, he raised some breast-works, cast up redoubts, and other works near the end of the bridge, and mounted two batteries, besides those of the castle, which stood on an eminence and commanded the river.

“ Douglas thus found the enemy stronger and better disposed than he expected. His works were carried on with sufficient vigour; and he commenced his operations by playing on the castle from a battery of six guns, but without any considerable effect. He found his train utterly insufficient for the enterprize he had undertaken; he lost his best gunner by a shot from the town; in a few days his men grew faint and sickly from scanty provisions, his horses weak from want of forage: it was rumoured that Sarsfield had actually marched with fifteen thousand men to raise the siege, and to cut off the retreat of the English forces. The spirits of the garrison were on fire, and their efforts redoubled, while Douglas formed the inglorious resolution of retiring. He decamped at midnight, unmolested; and, in his terror of the enemy, marched by devious and painful routes to join the royal army. The protestant inhabitants of the country near Athlone, who had enjoyed the benefit of Irish protections, were thus exposed to the utmost severities. On the approach of the besiegers they declared in favour of the English; and were, therefore, forced to attend them in their retreat; they abandoned their habitations and their har-

vests, and the miserable pittance of provisions which they carried with them became the prey of a necessitous and merciless army.”*

Douglas now joined William, who was advancing to Limerick, the great seat of the Irish force. The place had no fortification but a wall without ramparts, and some miserable little towers without ditches. A sort of covered way was made all round; and a kind of horn work pallisaded before the great gate; but the town was not attacked on that side. Twenty thousand Irish infantry, of whom however not more than half were armed, formed the garrison; while 3500 Irish cavalry, stationed at five miles distance, on the Connaught side of the Shannon, maintained a free communication with the town. The French troops retired to Galway, on the appearance of the English.†

“ On the ninth day of August William decamped, and began his approaches to the town, through grounds intersected with ditches and hedges lined with Irish infantry, who retreated gradually as the pioneers levelled the inclosures, until they came to a narrow and incumbered pass between two bogs, terminated by an old fort built by Ireton, and communicating with the town by three different lanes. Of these, the broadest was occupied by the Irish horse, while their musketeers were drawn up under cover of hedges on the right and left. As the English army advanced in order, two field pieces were so

* Leland.

† Berwick's Memoirs.

planted as to bear upon the enemy's horse; and after some discharges forced them from their ground, while their infantry were attacked, and after some resistance driven under the walls. Ireton's fort, and another advantageous post, were gained without resistance, and immediately mounted with field-pieces to annoy the town and outworks. Encouraged by this success, William encamped within cannon shot of the walls, without the usual precautions for security, and before his artillery arrived summoned the governour to surrender. Boileau addressed his answer, not to the king, to whom he would not give his royal titles, but to Sir Robert Southwell, the secretary. He expressed his surprize at the summons, and declared his resolution of meriting the good opinion of the prince of Orange, by a vigourous defence of the place entrusted to him by his majesty. But this spirited answer, William was assured, by no means corresponded with the sentiments of his garrison, who were prevented from an immediate submission only by the remonstrances of the governour, the duke of Berwick, and Sarsefield. And, to animate his hopes still farther, Ginckle, his Dutch general, gained a ford about three miles from the town, which the enemy abandoned at his approach, and where a strong detachment was now posted on each side of the river.

“ The garrison, on their part, prepared for a vigourous defence. They learned from a French deserter the situation of the king's tent, and on this quarter directed all the fury of their artillery; so that William found it necessary to re-

move. Among other articles of intelligence, the deserter informed them of the train expected from Dublin, its route, its motions, the nature, and number of its convoy. The enterprising spirit of Sarsefield was enflamed. He saw the desperate situation of his party, numbers of French troops already retired to Galway, and preparing to embark, those still in the town wavering and desponding, the Irish of themselves unequal to the enemy. Should they receive their cannon and other necessaries attending it, they must soon become masters of Limerick. He, therefore, resolved to make one bold effort to intercept them, the last he could attempt for his countrymen with any prospect of success; should he fail, he resolved to abandon their hopeless cause, and retire to France. With a party of chosen cavalry, he crossed the Shannon at Killalloe, about twelve miles above the English camp, marched by private ways well known to his men, lurked in the mountains, and waited the approach of the artillery and its escort. His motions were not unknown to the besiegers. They were informed that Sarsefield had crossed the Shannon on some secret expedition, of consequence enough to be entrusted to an officer so distinguished; the information was at first received with indifference; but being conveyed to William, he ordered Sir John Lanier to march with five hundred horse, and meet the train. Lanier executed his orders, but not with due alacrity. In the mean time, the artillery advanced within seven miles to the rear of the English camp. The officer who commanded the

convoy, apprehending no danger at so small a distance from the army, encamped loosely on a plain, without precaution or discipline. The main body of the convoy was retired to rest, their horses at grass, their baggage and cannon carelessly disposed, when Sarsefield rushed suddenly upon them, in a moment cut their centinels and waggoners to pieces, fell on the convoy, as they started from their sleep and attempted to regain their horses, and slaughtered or dispersed the whole party. He now collected the cannon, carriages, waggon, and ammunition; the cannon he filled with powder, fixing their mouths in the ground, and laying a train to the heap, fired it on his retreat. The hideous explosion announced the success of this enterprize to Lanier and his party; who, when the havock was already over, arrived in view of the enemy's rear, and made a futile attempt to intercept them. Sarsefield was better acquainted with the country, and returned triumphantly to Limerick.*

Two of the cannon had escaped uninjured in the general havock, some others were brought from Waterford. "With these the batteries were furnished, and, after the interruption of a week, the siege was vigorously renewed. The besieged, on their part, encouraged by the late success, animated by their officers, fired with emulation at the brave defence of Derry, and equally inveterate against their assailants, defended themselves like men whose interests were to be decided by one final effort. Without entering into a mi-

* Ireland.

nute detail of all the incidents of this siege, let it be sufficient to observe, that from the opening of the trenches on the eighteenth day of August, both the assault and the defence were maintained with vigour; and William, who took an active part in every operation, was frequently exposed to danger; when, on the twenty-seventh, a breach was made twelve yards in length, and the king ordered the counterscarp, and two towers on each side of the breach, to be assaulted. Five hundred grenadiers in the farthest angle of the trenches leaped over, ran towards the counterscarp, were furiously opposed, but, in the midst of a tremendous fire, dislodged the enemy, and pursuing even to the breach, many were actually in the town, while the Irish ran from the walls in confusion. The regiments appointed to second them stopped at the counterscarp, agreeably to their orders. They, whose ardour had hurried them within the walls, thus found themselves unsupported, their ammunition spent, and the enemy, who discovered their distress, rallying and pouring down upon them. They prepared to retreat, but many of them were killed, and almost all wounded. The Irish again marched to the breach, and defended it in a rage of valour. Even their women mingled with the men, encouraged them, advanced before them, defied the besiegers, and assailed them with stones.”* Brigadier Talbot, who was then in the horn-work with five hundred men, ran round the wall on the outside, and charging them in the rear,

* Leland.

drove them out, and entering by the breach, posted himself there. "For three hours a perpetual fire both of great and small arms was maintained on each side. One regiment of Brandenburgers seized a battery, but the powder catching fire, they were almost all blown into the air."* The failure of this assault caused the siege to be raised, when the garrison had not fifty barrels of powder; nor more than double the quantity among their adherents.† Continued rain, in his speech to the English parliament, William alledged, caused him to raise the siege. The duke of Berwick, an eye witness, asserts, that not a single drop of rain fell for above a month before, or for three weeks after.

This concluded William's personal enterprises in Ireland. Leaving his army at Clonmel, under count Solmes and Ginckle, he embarked at Waterford, accompanied by George, prince of Denmark, the duke of Ormond, &c.

Tyrconnel left the general command to the duke of Berwick, and went to France, to represent the ill state of affairs, and that without considerable succours Ireland should be abandoned. M. de Lausun went with him, and carried back the French troops at the same time. The departure of this French general was no injury to the Irish cause. For at the action of the Boyne he made it appear, that if ever he had had any knowledge of the military profession he had by that time totally forgot it. When the enemy passed

* Leland.

† Berwick's Memoirs.

the at Slane, he said they must be attacked; but while he was endeavouring to find a proper spot to act upon, the enemy had time to get into the plain, and form themselves, after which it was impossible to charge them. In short, in Ireland he shewed neither capacity nor resolution; though on other occasions he was said to be a man of great personal bravery.*

Soon after, on the 21st of September, Marlborough, who had embarked at Portsmouth with 5000 men, arrived in Cork road, landed with little opposition, and laid siege to the city. Ginckle reinforced him with nine hundred horse, and four thousand foot. Berwick advanced on the side of Kilmallock, to attempt its succour; but his forces were so inferior, that he was content to observe their operations. A breach was made; the Dutch and English, led by the duke of Grafton, son of Charles II. forded the river at low water, under the fire of the garrison, and posted themselves under the bank of a marsh, which served as a counterscarp to the city wall. Here the duke of Grafton was mortally wounded. The garrison, whose ammunition was exhausted, were compelled to surrender prisoners of war. William and Mary were proclaimed; and all papists ordered, on pain of death, to surrender their arms.

Kinsale was immediately summoned. The governor returned a refusal, and prepared for a vigorous defence. The town, being untenable, was destroyed; Castle-ny-fort, and Charles-fort,

* Berwick's Memoirs.

occupied. After a brave resistance, in which the governor, several officers, and half the garrison were slain, Castle-ny-fort was taken. Ten days after, Charles-fort was forced to surrender, when the besiegers were preparing for a general assault, on condition of the garrison marching out with their arms and baggage, and being conducted to Limerick. After this nothing of any consequence passed during the winter.

Not to interrupt the detail of military occurrences, several particulars of intrigues and cabals have been omitted; a short account of which shall here be given.

“ From the time of the king’s (James) arrival at Dublin, several of the Irish conceived an aversion for lord Melford, a Scotchman, who was prime minister, and secretary of state. The duke of Tyrconnel, who saw with displeasure the great credit of this favourite, contributed, underhand, to make the public murmurs break out, and at length caused an address to be presented to the king, in the name of the Irish nation, requesting that Melford might be dismissed. The king, in the present circumstances, thought he could not refuse the request of a nation, which was making such noble exertions in his favour, and to which he, at that time, expected to have the obligation of being re-established on the throne of England. Melford therefore was sent to France, and from thence to Rome, to reside at the pope’s court, as the king’s minister. Sir Richard Nagle, an Irishman, who was attorney-general, was, at the solicitation of Tyrconnel, appointed secretary of

state. He was a very honest man, sensible, and very able in his own profession; but not in the least conversant with affairs of state. Brigadier Luttrell had been one of the principal instigators of this business, and shewed, in the sequel, what he was capable of; for, after the battle of the Boyne, the duke of Tyrconnel being again become viceroy of Ireland, by the departure of the king, Luttrell was perpetually speaking ill of Tyrconnel, and inflaming every body against him. He contrived to incense the principal people of the nation to such a degree, that one day Sarsfield came to me (the duke of Berwick) from them, and after engaging me to secrecy, told me, that being convinced of the treachery of Tyrconnel, they had resolved to put him in arrest; and therefore he was to propose to me from them, that I should take upon me the command of the kingdom. I made him a short answer: that I was astonished they should dare to make such a proposition to me; that acting against the viceroy, in any manner, was high treason; and consequently, if they did not give over their cabals, I should become their enemy, and acquaint the king and Tyrconnel. My speech made an impression upon them, and prevented the execution of their designs. After the departure of Tyrconnel for France, Sarsfield, Simon Luttrell, brother to the brigadier, and brigadier Dorrington, came to me at Limerick, from the general assembly of the nation, to tell me, they had reason to suspect, that Tyrconnel would not represent their wants with sufficient force to the court of France; and

therefore they begged of me to take measures for the doing of it myself. My answer was, that I was astonished they dared to hold such assemblies without my permission; that I forbade them to hold any for the future, and that the next morning I would acquaint them with my intentions respecting the matter they had spoken to me upon. Accordingly I summoned all the principal lords, as well of the clergy as laity, and all the military officers, down to the colonels inclusive, to me. I made them a speech nearly to the same purpose as I had done the night before; but to shew how well I was inclined, I said, that to oblige them, I was willing to send such persons as they should approve of, to France, in order to represent their real condition and necessities. I proposed to them the bishop of Corke, the two Luttrells, and colonel Purcell. My choice was unanimously approved; and a few days after I dispatched my deputies: at the same time I sent brigadier Maxwell, a Scotchman, to explain to the king my reasons for appointing this deputation, and to beg of him not to suffer either brigadier Luttrell or colonel Purcell to return; they were the two most dangerous incendiaries, and I had chosen them on purpose to get them out of the way. When these gentlemen were got on board, they conceived a suspicion that Maxwell might be charged with some instructions relative to them, for which reason they proposed to throw him overboard; but were prevented by the bishop and the elder Luttrell. The first was a prelate of distinguished piety;

the other was of an obliging disposition, and always appeared to me to be a man of honour. Notwithstanding Maxwell's representations, the king permitted these gentlemen to return to Ireland. Tyrconnel consented to it; but he had reason to repent of it after. As they had apprehensions of being imprisoned, they caused it to be insinuated to the king, that the Irish would retaliate upon me for whatever treatment they might receive; and this consideration determined the king to let them come back to Ireland.*

About the middle of January, 1691, Tyrconnel returned with a miserable pittance of eight thousand pounds, and some clothing, wretchedly insufficient. The duke of Berwick went to France. The money was distributed among the soldiers, but could not dispel their doubts of the inclinations of France. They were encouraged with assurances, that arms, clothes, and necessaries, for twenty-five thousand men, were daily expected; that Louis would speedily send his triumphant navy against Cork and Kinsale. Saint Ruth, accompanied by major generals d'Ussone, and the chevalier de Tessé, arrived at Limerick, with commission of chief commander, but none of the vast stores the Irish expected. Sarsfield was justly discontented at this unreasonable partiality to a foreigner; nor could the title of earl of Lucan, which he received from James, reconcile him.

Early in June Ginckle assembled a well appointed army, supported by a formidable train of

* Berwick's Memoirs.

artillery, commanded by experienced officers, at Mullingar. To depreciate Irish valour, hostile writers state its effective strength, at eighteen thousand men; but, that the total amount must have far exceeded eighteen thousand, is evident; from the statements of the same writers. For, Ginckle, on his arrival at Mullingar, found there eight regiments of foot, six of horse, and one of dragoons, all new clothed; in a few days they were joined by lieutenant general Douglas at Rathconrath, about six miles from Mullingar, with nine regiments of foot, two of dragoons, and twelve troops of horse; which were soon after augmented by the troops, under Mackay, that had completely reduced the Scotch highlanders. From Cork three regiments of foot, one of horse, and one of dragoons, arrived; at Ballyburn-pass, they were joined by seven thousand foreigners, under the duke of Wirtemberg and count Nassau. Now twenty regiments of foot, nine regiments of horse, four regiments of dragoons, under Ginckle and Douglas; and seven thousand foreigners under Wirtemberg and Nassau; and the army, under Mackay, that had reduced the highlands, and a formidable train of artillery, sent from Dublin, must, on a moderate estimate, form a force little short of thirty thousand men.

To contend against this formidable force, Saint Ruth could bring into the field, at the highest estimate, but twenty-five thousand men, allowed to be badly clothed, badly paid, and miserably deficient in arms and ammunition. Thus situated,

he prudently adopted defensive warfare, waiting the arrival of reinforcements from France; while Ginckle, clearly seeing the advantages he possessed, commenced vigorous offensive operations. The fort of Ballymore was immediately invested. Partly surrounded by a lough, the land side poorly fortified, and commanded by a hill, with a garrison of one thousand men; Ginckle summoned the governor to surrender. He refused. Compelled to erect batteries, Ginckle again sent a verbal message, that if the fort was not surrendered in two hours, the governor should be hanged, as his serjeant was the day before. The demand was required in writing. A note was sent, in substance the same, that the governor and garrison should have their lives, and be prisoners of war, if the fort surrendered in two hours; if not, that they should be put to the sword. The governor insisted on marching out with the honours of war, but was refused. The batteries opened their fire. Two breaches were made. Armed boats full of men were launched on the lake. The place was defenceless on that side. The garrison surrendered prisoners of war, and were sent to the island of Lambay, near Dublin.

From thence Ginckle marched to Athlone; and having without difficulty possessed himself of the English side of Athlone, determined to attack the place across the bridge. The arch, nearest the Irish town was broken down. Under the fire of his artillery, he carried on a wooden work for the purpose of repairing it. His design

was nearly completed, when a serjeant and ten men rushed forward, attempted to destroy their works, and were all slain. The dangerous attack was repeated by another party, and with success; they cast the beams and planks into the river, though two only survived their success. Ginckle still continued his operations vigorously. The arch was repaired, after an obstinate contest of nine days; several breaches were made in the walls and the castle; his army was drawn up for the assault, when the Irish set fire to his wooden works, and again destroyed the arch he had so diligently laboured to complete. The attack was countermanded; the Irish rejoiced; and St. Ruth seemed confident of the security of Athlone. Ginckle now determined to attack the place across the river. The project was the more dangerous; as there was but one ford, and that near the bridge, which was very deep, stony, and narrow, admitting only six men in front; and Saint Ruth lay encamped, at two miles distance, in a situation to throw in any number of troops that might be wanted. As the fortifications of the town, on the side of his army, were nothing but mud, it had been proposed to St. Ruth, by the Irish officers, to level the curtains, so that the army might enter the place in order of battle, if there should be occasion; but he slighted their advice. Ginckle, having made all necessary preparations for crossing the river, ordered the assault. It was to no purpose that Maxwell, major-general of the day, whose tour of duty it was to command there at that time, gave intelli-

gence to St. Ruth of the preparations he saw going forward, and desired a reinforcement, having no more than two battalions of fresh troops, for the guard there was relieved as in trenches. The answer he received was, that if he was afraid, another general officer should be sent. At length, under cover of a heavy fire from their works and batteries, the enemy threw themselves into the river, led on by Mackay, la Meloniere, Tetteau, the prince of Hesse, Talmasb, the duke of Wirtemberg, and other officers; they gained the bank, and stormed the breaches next the river, which were abandoned by the Irish after the first fire. Maxwell kept his ground with a few officers; but most of them being killed by his side, he was taken prisoner; after which the assailants moved quietly along the rampart. St. Ruth, hearing the attack, dispatched major-general John Hamilton, with two brigades of infantry; but it was too late. The rampart was lined with the enemy's troops, the cannon of the town was pointed against him, and he was compelled to return to the camp.

Saint Ruth then quitted his post, and retired to Aghrim. This was another great fault; for, though masters of Athlone, the English could not have penetrated into the open country, on account of a great morass. St. Ruth was naturally very vain; and though Tyrconnel paid him every attention imaginable, and left the whole conduct of the campaign to his management, yet the having superior was a perpetual source of discontent to him. On this account he had recourse to those

turbulent instruments already mentioned, and threw out invectives on all occasions against Tyrconnel, till at last he forced him to quit the army, and retire to Limerick; after which, through vexation and shame for his disappointment at Athlone, he resolved, at all events, to come to a battle. It was not long before he was gratified.

The eagerness of the great English subjects of Ireland for forfeitures, had hitherto prevented Ginckle from offering terms to the Irish, though vested with powers for that purpose by king William. The adding of fifty pounds a year to the English interest was more regarded, than saving England the expence of fifty thousand. On the fifth day of July, in spite of all opposition, he published a proclamation of indemnity. The justices, in deference to the privy counsellors, seemed inclined to disavow it; but its necessity became so evident, that two days after they published another, offering payment for all horses and arms surrendered; to commanders surrendering their posts, and officers bringing their men, full possession of their estates; liberal rewards to those who had no landed property; and to all a free exercise of religion.

These proclamations having failed of their expected effect, the immediate disorganization of the Irish army, Ginckle concentrated his force, leaving the English districts so defenceless, that even in Dublin the lords justices were alarmed. On the 10th of July he marched from Athlone; on the 12th at noon, the English army advanced to the attack at Aghrim.

St. Ruth was well posted, having, at some distance in his front, a morass impassable by cavalry, except on the causeways, where he might with ease have prevented their passage;* but so desirous was he of fighting, that he repeated the dictum of marshal Crequi, the more that passed the more would be beaten. The whole body of the enemy passed over, and ranged themselves in order of battle, without interruption, after which he attacked them. His infantry, in the beginning of the action, had the advantage of that of the enemy, and drove them from their ground; but were soon beaten back in their turn: both his wings of cavalry likewise were routed; and himself, as he was going to bring up his corps de reserve, which consisted only of six squadrons, was killed by a cannon shot; after which the Irish army thought of nothing but flight. It has been asserted, that if he had not been killed, he would have gained the victory; but I appeal to the reader, whether it was possible for him, with six squadrons, to recover an action already lost. All he could have done would have been, to favour the retreat, which was done by the general officers after his death.† The loss of the Irish

* The duke of Berwick's narrative, so far as he was an eye-witness, and general officer in the military operations, must be acknowledged as unexceptionable authority; but the part he wrote from the information of others may be liable to examination. St. Ruth is said to have set good guards on the passes of the morass; and it is a popular tradition, that the treachery of brigadier Luttrell opened the way for the English horse across the narrow pass guarded by him.

† Berwick's Memoirs.

army was very considerable. The unrelenting fury of the victors appears from the number of their prisoners, which amounted only to four hundred and fifty. Seven thousand were slain. The cannon, ammunition, tents, baggage, a great quantity of small arms, and eleven standards, were taken. Night put an end to the pursuit. On the side of the victors, seven hundred fell, one thousand were wounded. The remains of the Irish army retired, part to Galway, part to Limerick.

Galway was immediately invested, and surrendered without firing a gun, on condition of marching out with the honours of war, and being conveyed to Limerick; those who pleased had liberty to continue in the town, or return to their respective habitations. Indemnity and full possession of their estates and liberties to the governor, magistracy, freemen and inhabitants. The exercise of their religion to the Roman catholic clergy and laity; their lawyers to practise; their estated gentlemen to wear arms.

The hopeless situation of the Irish; the favourable terms offered by Ginckle; made Limerick, to which the English advanced, a scene of contention. Some, solicitous to secure their own particular interests, engaged in a private correspondence with the enemy; while others, more generously, declined any composition, which should not include the whole body of Irish catholics. The expectation of reinforcements from France, however, encouraged the majority to a vigorous defence.

The English army was now before the town, to which it had advanced on the twenty-fifth of August. The outposts were all driven in, and the place closely blockaded. Ginckle addressed a declaration to the garrison and inhabitants, offering the full benefit of former proclamations, to all who should surrender in eight days. What these offers could not, famine effected. Want of provisions compelled the garrison, on the twenty-third of September, to agree to a cessation of arms; and, on the third of October, 1691, a capitulation was finally adjusted and signed. It was scarcely concluded when a French fleet of eighteen sail of the line arrived, with 3000 stand of arms, stores and provisions. Lords Lucan and Gallmoy were urged, by several of the Irish officers, to break off the treaty, on the pretext of its not having been ratified by William, for which there was not time; but they refused, saying they were bound in honor to deliver up Limerick and Ireland, according to the articles; which the victors were equally bound to preserve inviolate. A proclamation from the justices, offering to the Irish, terms much more advantageous than they obtained, was printed; but suppressed, on the first intelligence of the disposition of the garrison to treat. Hence it was stiled, The Secret Proclamation.

The civil and military atticles of Limerick, exactly printed from the letters patent; whereīm they are ratified and exemplified by their majesties, under the great seal of England.

Gulielmus et Maria Dei gratia, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ, rex et regina, fidei defensores, &c. Omnibus ad quos præsentēs literæ nostræ pervenerint salutem: inspeximus irrotulament. quarund. literarum patentium de confirmatione, geren. dat. apud Westmonasterium vicesimo quarto die Februarii, nltimi præteriti in cancellar. nostr. irrotulat, ac ibidem de recordo remanen. in hæc verba. William and Mary, by the grace of God, &c. To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Whereas certain articles, bearing date the third day of October last past, made and agreed on between our justices of our kingdom of Ireland, and our general of our forces there on the one part; and several officers there, commanding within the city of Limerick, in our said kingdom, on the other part. Whereby our said justices and general did undertake that we should ratify those articles, within the space of eight months, or sooner; and use their utmost endeavours that the same should be ratified and confirmed in parliament. The tenor of which said articles is as follows, viz.

Articles agreed upon the third day of October, one thousand six hundred and ninety-one, between the right honourable Sir Charles Porter, knight, and Thomas Coningsby, Esq. lords justices of Ireland: and his excellency the baron de Ginckle, lieutenant general, and

commander in chief of the English army, on the one part; and the right honourable Patrick, earl of Lucan, Piercy, viscount Gallmoy, colonel Nicholas Purcel, colonel Nicholas Cusack, Sir Toby Butler, colonel Garret Dillon, and colonel John Brown; on the other part.

In the behalf of the Irish inhabitants in the city and county of Limerick, the counties of Kerry, Cork, Sligo, and Mayo.

In consideration of the surrender of the city of Limerick, and other agreements made between the said lieutenant general Ginckle, the governor of the city of Limerick, and the generals of the Irish army, bearing date with these presents, for the surrender of the city, and submission of the said army: it is agreed, that,

I. The Roman catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland; or as they did enjoy in the reign of king Charles the Second: and their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman catholics such farther security in that particular, as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion.

II. All the inhabitants or residents of Limerick, or any other garrison now in the possession of the Irish, and all officers and soldiers, now in arms, under any commission of king James, or those authorised by him to grant the same, in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork

and Mayo, or any of them; and all the commissioned officers in their majesties quarters, that belong to the Irish regiments, now in being, that are treated with, and who are not prisoners of war, or have taken protection, and who shall return and submit to their majesties obedience; and their and every of their heirs, shall hold, possess, and enjoy, all and every of their estates of freehold and inheritance; and all the rights, titles and interests, privileges and immunities, which they, and every or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully intitled to in the reign of king Charles II. and shall be put in possession, by order of the government, of such of them as are in the king's hands, or the hands of his tenants, without being put to any suit or trouble therein; and all such estates shall be freed and discharged from all arrears of crown-rents, and other public charges, incurred and become due since Michaelmas 1688, to the day of the date hereof: and all persons comprehended in this article shall have, hold and enjoy all their goods and chattels, real and personal, to them or any of them belonging, and remaining either in their own hands or the hands of any persons whatsoever, in trust for or for the use of them, or any of them: and all and every the said persons, of what profession, trade or calling soever they be, shall and may use, exercise and practise their several and respective professions, trades and callings, as freely as they did use, exercise and enjoy the same in the reign of king Charles II. provided that nothing in this article contained be

construed to extend to, or restore any forfeiting person now out of the kingdom, except what are hereafter comprised: provided also, that no person whatsoever shall have or enjoy the benefit of this article, that shall neglect or refuse to take the oath of allegiance,* made by act of parliament in England, in the first year of the reign of their present majesties, when thereunto required.

III. All merchants or reputed merchants of the city of Limerick, or of any other garrison now possessed by the Irish, or of any town or place in the counties of Clare or Kerry, who are absent beyond the seas, that have not bore arms since their majesties declaration in February 1688, shall have the benefit of the second article, in the same manner as if they were present; provided such merchants and reputed merchants do repair into this kingdom within the space of eight months from the date hereof.

IV. The following officers, viz. colonel Simon Lutterell, captain Rowland White, Maurice Eustace of Yermanstown, Chievers of Maystown, commonly called Mount-Leinster, now belonging to the regiments in the aforesaid garrisons and quarters of the Irish army, who were beyond the seas, and sent thither upon affairs of their respective regiments, or the army in general, shall have the benefit and advantage of the second article, provided they return hither within the

* I A. B. do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to their majesties king William and queen Mary. So help me God.

space of eight months from the date of these presents, and submit to their majesties government, and take the abovementioned oath.

V. That all and singular the said persons comprised in the second and third articles, shall have a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprisions of treason, premunires, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanours whatsoever, by them or any of them committed since the beginning of the reign of king James II. and if any of them are attainted by parliament, the lords justices and general will use their best endeavours to get the same repealed by parliament, and the outlawries to be reversed gratis, all but writing-clerks fees.

VI. And whereas these present wars have drawn on great violences on both parts; and that if leave were given to the bringing all sorts of private actions, the animosities would probably continue that have been too long on foot, and the public disturbances last: for the quieting and settling therefore of this kingdom, and avoiding those inconveniences which would be the necessary consequence of the contrary, no person or persons whatsoever, comprised in the foregoing articles, shall be sued, molested or impleaded at the suit of any party or parties whatsoever, for any trespasses by them committed, or for any arms, horses, money, goods, chattels, merchandizes or provisions whatsoever, by them seized or taken during the time of the war. And no person or persons whatsoever, in the second or third articles comprised, shall be sued, impleaded, or

made accountable for the rents or mean rates of any lands, tenements or houses, by him or them received or enjoyed in this kingdom since the beginning of the present war to the day of the date hereof, nor for any waste or trespass by him or them committed in any such lands, tenements or houses: and it is also agreed, that this article shall be mutual and reciprocal on both sides.

VII. Every nobleman and gentleman comprised in the said second and third articles, shall have liberty to ride with a sword and case of pistols, if they think fit; and keep a gun in their houses, for the defence of the same, or for fowling.

VIII. The inhabitants and residents in the city of Limerick, and other garrisons, shall be permitted to remove their goods, chattels, and provisions, out of the same, without being viewed and searched, or paying any manner of duties, and shall not be compelled to leave the houses or lodgings they now have, for the space of six weeks next ensuing the date hereof.

IX. The oath to be administered to such Roman catholics as submit to their majesties government, shall be the oath abovesaid, and no other.

X. No person or persons who shall at any time hereafter break these articles, or any of them, shall thereby make, or cause any other person or persons to forfeit or lose the benefit of the same.

XI. The lords justices and general do promise to use their utmost endeavours, that all the persons comprehended in the above-mentioned articles, shall be protected and defended from all

arrests and executions for debt or damage, for the space of eight months next ensuing the date hereof.

XII. Lastly, the lords justices and general do undertake, that their majesties will ratify these articles within the space of eight months or sooner, and use their utmost endeavours that the same shall be ratified and confirmed by parliament.

XIII. And whereas colonel John Brown stood indebted to several protestants, by judgments of record, which appearing to the late government, the lord Tyrconnel and lord Lucan took away the effects the said John Brown had to answer the said debts, and promised to clear the said John Brown of the said debts; which effects were taken for the public use of the Irish, and their army: for freeing the said lord Lucan of his said engagement, past on their public account, for payment of the said protestants, and for preventing the ruin of the said John Brown, and for satisfaction of his creditors, at the instance of the lord Lucan and the rest of the persons aforesaid, it is agreed, that the said lords justices, and the said baron de Ginckle, shall intercede with the king and parliament, to have the estates secured to Roman catholics, by articles and capitulation in this kingdom, charged with, and equally liable to the payment of so much of the said debts, as the said lord Lucan, upon stating accounts with the said John Brown, shall certify under his hand that the effects taken from the said Brown amount unto; which accompt is to be stated, and the balance certified by the

said lord Lucan in one and twenty days after the date hereof:

For the true performance hereof we have hereunto set our hands,

Present, Sgravenmore.	Char. Porter.
H. Maccay.	Tho. Coningsby.
T. Talmash.	Bar. De Ginckle.

And whereas the said city of Limerick hath been since, in pursuance of the said articles, surrendered unto us. Now know ye, that we having considered of the said articles, are graciously pleased hereby to declare, that we do for us, our heirs, successors, as far as in us lies, ratify and confirm the same, and every clause, matter, and thing therein contained. And as to such parts thereof, for which an act of parliament shall be found to be necessary, we shall recommend the same to be made good by parliament, and shall give our royal assent to any bill or bills that shall be passed by our two houses of parliament to that purpose. And whereas it appears unto us, that it was agreed between the parties to the said articles, that after the words, Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo, or any of them, in the second of the said articles, the word following, viz. "And all such as are under their protection in the said counties," should be inserted, and be part of the said articles. Which words having been casually omitted by the writer, the omission was not discovered till after the said articles were signed, but was taken notice of before the second town was surrendered: and that our said justices and general, or one of them, did promise

that the said clause should be made good, it being within the intention of the capitulation, and inserted in the foul draft thereof. Our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby ratify and confirm the said omitted words, viz. " And all such as are under their protection in the said counties," hereby for us, our heirs and successors, ordaining or declaring, that all and every person and persons therein concerned, shall and may have, receive, and enjoy the benefit thereof, in such and the same manner, as if the said words had been inserted in their proper place, in the said second article; any omission, defect, or mistake in the said second article, in any wise notwithstanding. Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, that these our letters patents shall be enrolled in our court of chancery, in our said kingdom of Ireland, within the space of one year next ensuing. In witness, &c. witness ourself at Westminster, the twenty-fourth day of February, anno regni regis et reginæ Gulielmi et Mariæ quarto per breve de privato sigillo. Nos autem tenorem premissor. predict. Ad requisitionem attornat. general. domini regis et dominæ reginæ pro regno Hiberniæ. Duximus exemplificand. per presentes, In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Testibus nobis ipsis apud Westmon. quinto die Aprilis, annoq; regni eorum quarto.

Bridges.

Examinat per nos, S. Keck, Lacon W. Childe,
in Cancel. magistros.

Military articles agreed upon between the baron de Ginckle, lieutenant general and commander in chief of the English army, on the one side, And the lieutenant generals de Ussoon and de Tesse, commanders in chief of the Irish army, on the other; and the general officers hereunto subscribing.

I. That all persons without any exceptions, of what quality or condition soever, that are willing to leave the kingdom of Ireland, shall have free liberty to go to any country beyond the seas (England and Scotland excepted) where they think fit, with their families, household-stuff, plate and jewels.

II. That all general officers, colonels, and generally all other officers of horse, dragoons, and foot guards, troopers, dragooners, soldiers of all kinds that are in any garrison, place or post, now in the hands of the Irish, or encamped in the counties of Cork, Clare and Kerry, as also those called rapparees or volunteers, that are willing to go beyond the seas as aforesaid, shall have free leave to embark themselves wherever the ships are that are appointed to transport them, and to come in whole bodies as they are now composed, or in parties, companies, or otherwise, without having any impediment, directly or indirectly.

III. That all persons above-mentioned, that are willing to leave Ireland and go into France, shall have leave to declare it at the times and places hereafter mentioned, viz. the troops in Limerick, on Tuesday next in Limerick; the

horse at their camp on Wednesday, and the other forces that are dispersed in the counties of Clare, Kerry, and Cork, on the 8th instant, and on none other, before Monsieur Tameron, the French intendant, and colonel Withers; and after such declaration is made, the troops that will go to France, must remain under the command and discipline of their officers that are to conduct them thither; and deserters of each side shall be given up, and punished accordingly.

IV. That all English and Scotch officers that serve now in Ireland, shall be included in this capitulation, as well for the security of their estates and goods in England, Scotland, and Ireland, (if they are willing to remain here,) as for passing freely into France, or any other country to serve.

V. That all the general French officers, the intendant, the engineers, the commissioners at war, and of the artillery, the treasurer, and other French officers, strangers, and all others whatsoever, that are in Sligo, Ross, Clare, or in the army, or that do trade and commerce, or are otherways employed in any kind of station or condition, shall have free leave to pass into France, or any other country, and shall have leave to ship themselves, with all their horses, equipage, plate, papers, and all their effects whatever; and that general Ginckle will order passports for them, convoys, and carriages, by land and water, to carry them safe from Limerick to the ships where they shall be embarked, without paying any thing for the said carriages, or to

those that are employed therein, with their horses, cars, boats, and shallops.

VI. That if any of the aforesaid equipages, merchandize, horses, money, plate, or other moveables, or household stuff belonging to the said Irish troops, or to the French officers, or other particular persons whatsoever, be robbed, destroyed, or taken away by the troops of the said general, the said general will order it to be restored, or payment to be made according to the value that is given in upon oath by the person so robbed or plundered: and the said Irish troops to be transported as aforesaid, and all other persons belonging to them, are to observe good order in their march and quarters, and shall restore whatever they shall take from the country, or make restitution for the same.

VII. That to facilitate the transporting the said troops, the general will furnish fifty ships, each ship's burthen two hundred tons; for which the persons to be transported shall not be obliged to pay, and twenty more, if there shall be occasion, without their paying for them; and if any of the said ships shall be of lesser burthen, he will furnish more in number to countervail; and also give two men of war to embark the principal officers, and serve for a convoy to the vessels of burthen.

VIII. That a commissary shall be immediately sent to Cork to visit the transport ships, and what condition they are in for sailing: and that as soon as they are ready, the troops to be transported shall march with all convenient speed, the

nearest way, in order to embark there: and if there shall be any more men to be transported than can be carried off in the said fifty ships, the rest shall quit the English town of Limerick, and march to such quarters as shall be appointed for them, convenient to their transportation, where they shall remain till the other twenty ships are ready, which are to be in a month; and they may embark on any French ship that may come in the mean time.

IX. That the said ships shall be furnished with forage for horse, and all necessary provisions to subsist the officers, troops, dragoons, and soldiers, and all other persons that are shipped to be transported into France; which provisions shall be paid for as soon as all are disembarked at Brest or Nantz, upon the coast of Brittany, or any other port of France they can make.

X. And to secure the return of the said ships (the danger of the seas excepted) and payment for the said provisions, sufficient hostages shall be given.

XI. That the garrisons of Clare-castle, Ross, and all other foot that are in garrisons in the counties of Clare, Cork, and Kerry, shall have the advantage of this present capitulation; and such part of those garrisons as design to go beyond seas, shall march out with their arms, baggage, drums beating, ball in mouth, match lighted at both ends, and colours flying, with all the provisions, and half the ammunition that is in the said garrisons, and join the horse that march to be transported; or if then there is not

shipping enough for the body of foot that is to be next transported after the horse, general Ginckle, will order that they be furnished with carriages for that purpose, and what provisions they shall want in their march, they paying for the said provisions, or else that they may take it out of their own magazines.

XII. That all the troops of horse and dragoons, that are in the counties of Cork, Kerry, and Clare, shall also have the benefit of this capitulation; and that such as will pass into France, shall have quarters given them in the counties of Clare and Kerry, apart from the troops that are commanded by general Ginckle, until they can be shipped; and within their quarters they shall pay for every thing, except forage and pasture for their horses, which shall be furnished gratis.

XIII. Those of the garrison of Sligo that are joined to the Irish army, shall have the benefit of this capitulation; and orders shall be sent to them that are to convey them up, to bring them hither to Limerick the shortest way.

XIV. The Irish may have liberty to transport nine hundred horse, including horses for the officers, which shall be transported gratis: and as for the troopers that stay behind, they shall dispose of themselves as they shall think fit, giving up their horses and arms to such persons as the general shall appoint.

XV. It shall be permitted to those that are appointed to take care for the subsistence of the horse, that are willing to go into France, to buy hay and corn at the king's rates wherever they

can find it, in the quarters that are assigned for them, without any let or molestation, and to carry all necessary provisions out of the city of Limerick; and for this purpose, the general will furnish convenient carriages for them to the places where they shall be embarked.

XVI. It shall be lawful to make use of the hay preserved in the stores of the county of Kerry, for the horses that shall be embarked; and if there be not enough, it shall be lawful to buy hay and oats wherever it shall be found, at the king's rates.

XVII. That all prisoners of war, that were in Ireland the 28th of September, shall be set at liberty on both sides; and the general promises to use his endeavours, that those that are in England and Flanders shall be set at liberty also.

XVIII. The general will cause provisions and medicines to be furnished to the sick and wounded officers, troopers, dragoons, and soldiers of the Irish army that cannot pass into France at the first embarkment; and after they are cured, will order them ships to pass into France, if they are willing to go.

XIX. That at the signing hereof, the general will send a ship express to France; and that besides, he will furnish two small ships of those that are now in the river of Limerick, to transport two persons into France that are to be sent to give notice of this treaty; and that the commanders of the said ships shall have orders to put ashore at the next port of France where they shall make.

XX. That all those of the said troops, officers and others, of what character soever, that would pass into France, shall not be stopped upon the account of debt, or any other pretext.

XXI. If after signing this present treaty, and before the arrival of the fleet, a French packet-boat, or other transport-ship, shall arrive from France in any other part of Ireland, the general will order a passport, not only for such as must go on board the said ships, but to the ships to come to the nearest port to the place where the troops to be transported shall be quartered.

XXII. That after the arrival of the said fleet, there shall be free communication and passage between it and the quarters of the abovesaid troops; and especially for all those that have passes from the chief commanders of the said fleet, or from Monsieur Tameron the intendant.

XXIII. In consideration of the present capitulation, the two towns of Limerick shall be delivered and put into the hands of the general, or any other person he shall appoint, at the time and days hereafter specified, viz. the Irish town, except the magazines and hospital, on the day of the signing of these present articles; and as for the English town, it shall remain, together with the island, and the free passage of Thomond-bridge, in the hands of those of the Irish army that are now in the garrison, or that shall hereafter come from the counties of Cork, Clare, Kerry, Sligo, and other places above-mentioned, until there shall be convenience found for their transportation.

XXIV. And to prevent all disorders that may happen between the garrison that the general shall place in the Irish town, which shall be delivered to him, and the Irish troopers that shall remain in the English town and the island, which they may do, until the troops to be embarked on the first fifty ships shall be gone for France, and no longer; they shall entrench themselves on both sides, to hinder the communication of the said garrisons; and it shall be prohibited on both sides to offer any thing that is offensive; and the parties offending shall be punished on either side.

XXV. That it shall be lawful for the said garrison to march out all at once, or at different times, as they can be embarked, with arms, baggage, drums beating, match lighted at both ends, bullet in mouth, colours flying, six brass guns, such as the besieged will chuse, two mortar-pieces, and half the ammunition that is now in the magazines of the said place; and for this purpose an inventory of all the ammunition in the garrison shall be made, in the presence of any person that the general shall appoint, the next day after these present articles shall be signed.

XXVI. All the magazines of provisions shall remain in the hands of those that are now employed to take care of the same, for the subsistence of those of the Irish army that will pass into France: and if there shall not be sufficient in the stores, for the support of the said troops, whilst they stay in this kingdom, and are cro-

sing the seas, that upon giving up an account of their numbers, the general will furnish them with sufficient provisions at the king's rates; and that there shall be a free market at Limerick, and other quarters, where the said troops shall be; and in case any provision shall remain in the magazines of Limerick when the town shall be given up, it shall be valued, and the price deducted out of what is to be paid for the provisions to be furnished to the troops on ship-board.

XXVII. That there shall be a cessation of arms at land, as also at sea, with respect to the ships, whether English, Dutch, or French, designed for the transportation of the said troops, until they shall be returned to their respective harbours; and that, on both sides, they shall be furnished with sufficient passports both for ships and men; and if any sea-commander, or captain of a ship, or any officer, trooper, dragoon, soldier or any other person, shall act contrary to this cessation, the persons so acting shall be punished on either side, and satisfaction shall be made for the wrong that is done; and officers shall be sent to the mouth of the river of Limerick, to give notice to the commanders of the English and French fleets of the present conjuncture, that they may observe the cessation of arms accordingly.

XXVIII. That for the security of the execution of this present capitulation, and each article therein contained, the besieged shall give the following hostages ————— And the general shall give —————.

XXIX. If before this capitulation is fully executed, there happens any change in the government, or command of the army, which is now commanded by general Ginckle; all those that shall be appointed to command the same, shall be obliged to observe and execute what is specified in these articles, or cause it to be executed punctually, and shall not act contrary on any account. October 19.

Baron DE GINCKLE.

Twenty thousand of the Irish troops availed themselves of these articles, and arrived at Brest, about the beginning of 1692. They were formed by James into nine regiments of infantry, of two battalions each, two of dismounted dragoons, two of horse, and two troops of life guards; they bore his commission, and were paid by the French.

This last Irish war, in favour of the expelled family, terminated in the treaty of Limerick; of which the duke of Berwick writing regrets, that it did not include all the Irish; that many noblemen and gentlemen, prisoners with the English, forfeited their estates by this omission. To be sure, the garrison acted precipitately, in signing a partial treaty, unacquainted, probably, with the arrival of a strong armament to their relief from France, until the treaty was signed. This is one of the many instances, verifying the old Irish adage, an Irishman's wit comes too late. However, the auxiliary forces sent could only protract the war, not decide in favour of James. King William did not follow this feeble

policy. He did not content himself with sending auxiliaries to his friends in Ireland, but espoused the cause as a principal. Had Louis done the same, he would have rendered better service to France and his ally. Had the duke foreseen the breach of that treaty, which was set aside as a mere temporary expedient, he needed not regret the fate of the noble persons omitted therein.

Though the object of this history was rather civil than military transactions; the policy, passion and management of parties, not their conflicts in battles and sieges; it will not be superfluous to point out some of the most glaring and ruinous faults, committed by James and his partizans in Ireland. If he really refused a strong auxiliary force, offered him by Louis XIV. on his embarking for Ireland, he was strangely to expect, that he could recover England with new levies, ill appointed in every respect. Or if he meant, as insinuated in his own and Berwick's memoirs, after drawing William and his army out of England, to return suddenly to France, and procure an invasion of England, to try the temper of his partizans there; the refusal of Louis was a just punishment of his perfidy, in dragging the unfortunate Irish into his war, and refusing to support them by his allies' forces. His management of the war here was not more judicious or fortunate. The facility of destroying Schomberg's army, while perishing by the dysentery in his camp, near Dundalk, was represented to him. His reply was, according to popular tradition, "it would be cruel to throw scalding water on

drowning rats." Such was his sympathy for his English revolted subjects, he gave them time to recover, and receive such powerful reinforcements, headed by king William, as decided the war against him. He is said, by most writers, to have accused the Irish of cowardice, both in Dublin and France. The charge was, with greater justice, retorted. His conduct at the Boyne was not that of a brave monarch, fighting for three kingdoms. Under pretence of a corps de reserve, he kept a choice body of troops out of the action, merely for the security of his person and flight. Were they kept as a reserve, they would have been led by the king, to support any part of his lines pressed too hard. His position over the Boyne was of little or no use to him, as he neglected Hamilton's advice, to guard the pass of Slane with eight regiments. He made no use of the garrison of Drogheda, to annoy the force passing the ford next the town; and he disgusted the Irish, with his exclamations of my brave English; seeming to exult in their success over the ill-armed, ill-disciplined levies, fighting for him. His every measure was of a nature to persuade, that he would be sorry their victory cost them too dear. Accordingly, it was the prevailing opinion of his Irish subjects, that he had a greater leaning towards his English rebel subjects, than towards his loyal Irish catholics. His ill report of the Irish to Louis XIV. induced that monarch to recall five thousand French troops he had sent in exchange for the like number of Irish, without returning the latter. His sending of St. Ruth, as

commander in chief, was at once insulting to the feelings, and ruinous to the cause of the Irish. Sarsfield was the popular general; and it seldom or never happens, in time of war, that a general will gain popularity with the army and the people, without considerable merit. To supersede such a man, shew marked preference to Frenchmen in all promotion, sowed jealousy and disunion among troops that ought to be united. St. Ruth's inexcusable negligence at the siege of Athlone, led to the battle of Aghrim, and the total ruin of the cause. Encamped with a strong army within two miles of Athlone, nothing but his neglect saved the besieging army from destruction in fording the Shannon where they did; an enterprize which a vigilant commander would have proved rash and foolish, and which his carelessness crowned with glory and success. At his battle of Aghrim, which needed not have been fought but for his neglect of Athlone, he committed the unpardonable fault of concealing his order of battle from lord Lucan, his second in command; which, on his sudden death by a cannon ball, disabled that brave general from supporting his dispositions. Popular tradition has generally represented the treachery of colonel Luttrell as instrumental to the loss of this battle. Thus were all the interferences of that family, in Irish affairs, whether well or ill intended, unceasingly injurious to the Irish. This general sent by James, what by his supineness at Athlone, what with his precipitancy afterwards, and his jealousy of Sarsfield, precipitated the fall of

Ireland, and brought a war to issue, which, without his arrival, Sarsfield, more alert and vigilant, could have protracted until the arrival of powerful succours in forces, arms, ammunition, provisions and clothing, preparing in France; which, through his fault, arrived in the Shannon too late; of whose arrival they were informed just the day after signing the treaty. The French commanders, notifying their arrival, pressed the Irish to break off the treaty, as not yet ratified by William; but they refused, not being tainted with the puny faith of their enemy.

This war, like all other wars of English against Irish, ended with forfeitures! The Irish fought for their lawful king, to whom they had sworn allegiance, and whose rights they thought themselves in conscience bound to defend. The victors fought against their lawful king, to whom they had also sworn allegiance. A summary of these confiscations is given in the speech of lord Clare on the Union. "After the expulsion of James from the throne of England, the old inhabitants made a final effort for the recovery of their ancient power, in which they were once more defeated by an English army; and the slender relics of Irish possession became the subject of fresh confiscation. From the report made by the commissioners appointed by the parliament of England in 1698, it appears, that the Irish subjects outlawed for the rebellion of 1688, amounted to three thousand nine hundred and seventy-eight, and that their Irish possessions, as far as could be computed, were of the annual

value of two hundred and eleven thousand six hundred and twenty-three pounds; comprising one million sixty thousand seven hundred and ninety-two acres. This fund was sold under the authority of an English act of parliament, to defray the expences incurred by England in reducing the rebels of 1688; and the sale introduced into Ireland a new set of adventurers.

“ It is a very curious and important speculation to look back to the forfeitures of Ireland in the last century. The superficial contents of the island are calculated at eleven million forty-two thousand six hundred and eighty-two acres. Let us now examine the state of forfeitures:

In the reign of James I. the whole of the province	Acres.
of Ulster was confiscated, containing.....	2,836,837
Set out by the court of Claims at the Restoration	7,800,000
Forfeitures of 1688.....	1,060,792
	<hr/>
Total	11,697,629
	<hr/>

“ So that the whole of your island has been confiscated, with the exception of the estates of five or six families of English blood, some of whom had been attainted in the reign of Henry VII. but recovered their possessions before Tyrone’s rebellion, and had the good fortune to escape the pillage of the English republic inflicted by Cromwell; and no inconsiderable portion of the island has been confiscated twice, or perhaps thrice, in the course of a century. The situation therefore of the Irish nation at the revolution, stands unparalleled in the history of the inhabited world. If the wars of England carried on here,

from the reign of Elizabeth, had been waged against a foreign enemy, the inhabitants would have retained their possessions under the established law of civilized nations, and their country have been annexed as a province to the British empire."

As usual, the hostile pen carries on the war of defamation, as soon as the sword of destruction is sheathed. Archbishop King, bound by his station to be the herald of truth, stooped to publish wilful lies, to calumniate the beaten party; dwelling largely on the hardships endured by protestants, under James, and the outrages of the popish army. But Dr. Lesly, a dissenting clergyman, answered him so ably, that it was thought more prudent to suppress, than reply to the work.

The secretary to marshal Schomberg, Dr. Gorge, cannot be accused of partiality to the Irish. His state of parties, and conduct of the belligerents, is contained in the following extract. "The fire, saith the royal prophet, kindled in my breast, and I spoke with my tongue: perhaps some sparks of that fire so enflamed my zeal to the public good of this country, that I have not only spoke with my tongue, but wrote with my pen those truths which I know have redounded more to my particular prejudice, than to the public service. He that follows truth too near, saith a wise man; may lose his teeth; and a wiser than he tells us, that he who professeth some truths, may thereby lose his life; yet in the same period tells us, that he shall be no loser thereby;

the satisfaction and contentment which constantly attends integrity, being much sweeter than the advantage of temporal security. *Liberavi animam meam*, and if this make me vile, I am content to be more vile: I know God hath put enmity between the seed of the woman, and the seed of the serpent; and I as well know, that it is as vain for man's prudence to attempt to unite what God hath divided, as it is sinful to divide what he had united.... You know how often and how early we pressed the necessity of restoring a civil government in this province (Ulster), and how often and openly we declared that the ruin of the country must be the prejudice, and endanger the ruin of the army; and that there could be found no hands so cheap and easy to be got, or any that would be more hearty and faithful than the protestants of this country, who having their particular interests seconded by natural and religious motives must be more zealous in carrying on this war, than any foreign or mercenary soldiers, as is evident by what has been done by the Londonderry and Eniskillen soldiers, who are and were made up of the meanest and lowest people of this and the neighbouring provinces. You cannot forget who offered, and that at their own charge on our first landing here, to block up Charlemont, and to raise regiments to secure the northern garrisons, that the established army might have the more leisure to attend the motions of the public enemy; and I presume you cannot but as well remember, who ridiculed, scorned, and contemned all motions of that kind, and who

affirmed, and that openly, that the protestants of this province, ought rather to be treated as enemies than friends, and that the best of them had either basely complied with king James and his party, or cowardly left and deserted their country; that the goods and stock of the protestant inhabitants, once seized by the enemy, were forfeited, and ought not to be restored, but given as encouragement to the soldiers; that all papists ought to be plundered, and none protected; that the restoration of civil government was a diminution of the power of the general and the army, and that all the protestants, inhabitants of this province, were false to the present government, and ought not to be trusted with places of trust or power; that as their persons were not to be trusted, so their oaths and complaints were neither to be believed nor redressed; that so an easier and a safer approach might be made to invade the little left them by the Irish.

“ That all endeavours of the settlement of a public revenue were designs to oppress the army; that free quartering was the least retaliation that the protestants could give for being restored to their former estates; that religion is but canting, and debauchery the necessary character of soldiers. If to these you add the pressing of horses at pleasure, quartering at pleasure, robbing and plundering at pleasure, denying the people bread or seed of their own corn, though the general by his public proclamation requires both, and some openly and publicly contemning and scorning the said proclamation; whereby multitudes of

families are already reduced to want of bread, and left only to beg, or steal, or starve. These being the practices, and these the principles, and both as well known to you as to me, can it be wondered that the oppressed protestants here should report us worse than the Irish; or can it be wondered that God should pursue us with his dreadful judgments who have so provoked him with our daring sins? Or can we rationally expect God should fight for us, while we thus fight against him? We may as well expect grapes from thorns, and figs from thistles, as success to a protestant cause from such hands. Can we expect Sodom to destroy Babylon; or debauchery to destroy popery? Our enemy fights with the principle of a mistaken conscience against us, we against the conviction of our own principles against them. What I have learned of the enemy's principles and practices since I left you, I shall here inform you, and reduce what I have to say to these two general heads:

I. The frequent discourse of their king.

II. His public declarations and proclamations for the well government of his army.

I. As to his private discourse.

1. He expresseth great zeal and passionate affection to his English subjects, in so much that both French and Irish often say of him, as he did of king David, that he loves his enemies and hates his friends.

2. He is heard often to desire his officers, that in their engagement with the English, they should

be treated as mistaken subjects, and not as obstinate rebels.

3. He is often heard to declare, that since he rightly understood christianity, he ever asserted christian liberty, as well in his past prosperity, as his present adversity.

4. That all persuasions in matters of religion, who have most charity and least of severity, are most agreeable to christianity.

5. He is often heard to complain, that he ever observed an aptitude and propensity in persons of power to persecute such as differ from them.

6. That this natural aptitude to persecute ought to be restrained by wholesome and effectual laws.

7. That this persecuting spirit influencing the greater number of all persuasions, especially persons in power, is the only cause of his majesty's present sufferings.

8. He is passionately kind to all deserters, and chearfully receives and soon prefers them.

9. He pretending his sufferings to be thus on the account of conscience; seems not to doubt, but God will find some unexpected means, for his restoration in 1690, as he did in 1660.

10. He is heard frequently to declare against the dragooning persecution of France, and the barbarous and inhuman murders committed on the protestants of this kingdom in the year 1641, as passionately, and perhaps as sincerely as the scribes and pharasees did against their forefathers, for persecuting the prophets. To these I think

fit to add the particulars of his majesty's public declarations, which are ordered to be read once every two months in the head of every troop and company in his whole army, and to be fixed up in all the boroughs and market towns in this kingdom.

1. His majesty is pleased earnestly to recommend the performance of public and private duties to God, to all under his command, and particularly recommends to the Roman catholics of his army frequent confessions, and strict observation of Sundays and holy-days,

2. He publicly declares what subsistence he allows to every horse, dragoon, and every private soldier in his army, and what is reserved in the paymaster's hands for the accoutrements and the hospital.

3. He avoids and forbids as unnecessary, the charge of all agents, and commands the majors of every regiment to do that work, and to save the charge.

4. He strictly requires the private soldier out of the said subsistence duly and truly to pay his quarters.

5. In case they shall want their subsistence, they are then required every week to give their respective landlords a note under their hands, which shall be received by the receiver general, as so much money out of any branch of his majesty's revenue.

6. His majesty forbids all straggling of private soldiers from their garrisons without their officers pass; and requires all officers, either

military or civil, to apprehend such soldiers having no pass, and to send them to their colours, to receive punishment according to their demerits.

7. His majesty by the same proclamation, forbids all plundering on any pretence whatsoever, under pain of death without mercy.

8. He requires both officers and soldiers under the pain of his high displeasure to demean and behave themselves civilly and respectfully in their respective quarters; and to assist and not obstruct the civil magistrates in the execution of their respective trusts, especially the officers concerned in and about his majesty's revenue.

9. He forbids all officers and soldiers to quarter themselves on any of his majesty's subjects, without having a billet or ticket under the hand of the constable or other civil officer of the place.

10. He strictly forbids pressing any countryman's horse on any pretence whatsoever without having his majesty, his captain general, his lord lieutenant, or deputy lieutenant's licence for so doing; and then allows them to press the said horse but one day's journey, and to see that the horse be returned as well as when received; and particularly forbids the pressing any horse belonging to any plough.

11. His majesty in the same proclamation, enjoins severe penalties on all forestallers or obstructers of provision going to either camp or market.

Lastly. The respective penalties enjoined in the said proclamation, are severely and impar-

tially executed on the respective offenders. My family tells me that the week before they left Dublin, there were two private soldiers executed before a protestant baker's door, for stealing two loaves not worth a shilling. And a fortnight before, a lieutenant and ensign were publicly executed at a place, where on pretence of the king's service, they pressed a horse going with provisions to Dublin market; two others were condemned and expected daily to be executed for the like offence; these severe examples confirming the penalties of these public declarations, contribute so much to the quiet of the country, that were it not for the country Raparees and Tories, theirs it is thought, would be much quieter than ours. Some of our foreigners are very uneasy to us; had not the prudence of a discreet major prevented it, last Sunday was seven night had been a bloody day between some of the Danish foot and colonel Langton's regiment of horse. The truth is too many of the English, as well as Danes and French, are highly oppressive to the poor country; whereas our enemy have reduced themselves to that order, that they exercise violence on none, but the proprietors of such as they know to be absent, or, as they phrase it, in rebellion against them, whose stock, goods and estates are seized, and set by the civil government, and the proceed applied for and towards the charge of the war. And for their better direction in their seizures, it is reported and believed, that they have copies of the particulars of the protestant's passes given into the committee

of the late house of commons at Westminster.”*

If the military conduct of the Irish, in the war of James, is proved worthy of their antient fame for valour and clemency, the legislative acts of James's Irish parliament are evidences, no less clear and honourable, of their justice and patriotism. To speak first of the act of attainder. I see no just grounds wherefore Leland, and other writers, calumniate it as an act of persecution. It happened, that in Ireland protestants alone were in arms, openly rebelling, against their lawful sovereign: so that it was not for their religion, but their rebellion, they were attainted. They might as well say, that if a popish judge and jury found a protestant guilty of murder and robbery, he had suffered the sentence of the law for his religion, and not for his crimes. The repeal of the acts of settlement and explanation, though extremely just in itself, was displeasing to James; who, accordingly, endeavoured privately to counteract it, as a measure offensive to the English.

Bills that passed in the parliament, held in Dublin, 1690, under king James.

1. An act of recognition.
2. An act for annulling and making void all patents of officers for life or during good behaviour.
3. An act declaring that the parliament of

* Extract of a letter from Dr. Gorge, secretary to general Schomberg in Ireland, to colonel James Hamilton, in London, to be communicated to the lady viscountess Ranelagh, the lord Massareen, and others.

England cannot bind Ireland, and against writs of errors and appeals to be brought for removing judgments, decrees, and sentences in Ireland into England.

4. An act for repealing the acts of settlement and explanation, resolution of the doubts and all grants, patents and certificates, pursuant to them, or any of them.

5. An act for punishing of persons who bring in counterfeit coin of foreign realms, being current in this realm, or counterfeit the same within this realm, or wash, clip, file or lighten the same.

6. An act for taking off all incapacities of the natives of this kingdom.

7. An act for taking away the benefits of the clergy in certain cases of felony in this kingdom for two years.

8. An act to continue two acts made to prevent delays in execution: and to prevent arrests of judgment and superseding executions.

9. An act for repealing a statute, intituled, an act for provisions of ministers in cities and corporate towns. And for making the church of St. Andrew's, in the suburbs of the city of Dublin, presentative for ever.

10. An act of supply for his majesty for the support of his army.

11. An act for repealing the act for keeping and celebrating the 23d of October, as an anniversary in this kingdom.

12. An act for liberty of conscience, and repealing such acts or clauses in any acts of parliament, which are inconsistent with the same.

13. An act concerning tythes, and other ecclesiastical duties.

14. An act for regulating tythes, and other ecclesiastical duties in the province of Ulster.

15. An act concerning appropriate tythes, and other duties payable to ecclesiastical dignitaries.

16. An act for repealing the act for real union and division of parishes, and concerning churches, free schools and exchanges.

17. An act for relief and release of poor distressed prisoners for debts.

18. An act for repealing an act, intituled, an act for confirmation of letters patents, granted to his grace James duke of Ormond.

19. An act for encouragement of strangers and others to inhabit and plant in the kingdom of Ireland.

20. An act for prevention of frauds and perjuries.

21. An act prohibiting the importation of English, Scotch, or Welsh coals into this kingdom.

22. An act for ratifying and confirming deeds and settlements, and last wills and testaments of persons out of possession.

23. An act for the speedy recovering servants wages.

24. An act for vesting in his majesty the goods of absentees.

25. An act concerning martial law.

26. An act for punishment of waste committed on lands, restorable to old proprietors.

27. An act to enable his majesty to regulate the duties of foreign commodities.

28. An act for the better settling intestates estates.

29. An act for advance and improvement of trade, and for the encouragement and increase of shipping and navigation.

30. An act for the attainder of divers rebels, and for the preserving the interest of loyal subjects.

31. An act for granting and confirming unto the duke of Tyrconnel, lands and tenements to the value of £15,000 per annum.

32. An act for securing the water-course for the castle and city of Dublin.

33. An act for relieving Dame Anna Yolanda, Sarracourt, alias Duval and her daughter.

34. An act for securing iron-works and land thereunto belonging, on Sir Henry Waddington, knight, at certain rates.

35. An act for the reversal of the attainder of William Ryan, of Bally Ryan, in the county of Tipperary, Esq. and for restoring him to his blood, corrupted by the said attainder.

Act for the advance and improvement of trade, and for encouragement and increase of shipping, and navigation.

“Whereas this kingdom of Ireland, for its good situation, commodious harbours, and great quantity of goods, the growth, product, and manufactory thereof, is, and standeth very fit and convenient for trade and commerce with most nations, kingdoms and plantations; and

several laws, statutes and ordinances, having heretofore been made, and enacted from time to time, prohibiting and disabling the king's subjects of this realm, to export, or carry out of this kingdom, unto any other the king's islands, plantations, or colonies, in Asia, Africa, or America, several of the goods, wares, merchandizes, and commodities of this nation; or to import into this kingdom, the goods or merchandizes of the said plantations, colonies and islands, without landing or discharging in England, Wales, or the town of Berwick upon Tweed, under great penalties and forfeitures, not only to the decay of the king's revenue, but also to the very great prejudice and disadvantage of all the inhabitants in this kingdom, as well subjects as strangers; and which hath in a high measure contributed to impoverish this kingdom, and discouraged several merchants, traders, and artificers, to come from abroad, and dwell, and trade here: and whereas, the encrease of shipping, and the encouragement of navigation, under the good providence of God, and the careful protection of his sacred majesty, are the best and fittest means and foundations, whereon the wealth, safety and strength of this island and kingdom, may be built and established. Be it therefore enacted, by the king's most excellent majesty, with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled; and by the authority of the same, that it shall and may be lawful to and for his majesty's subjects of this realm of Ireland, and to

and for every other person and persons, of what nation soever, residing and inhabiting here, during the time of such residence, freely to trade into, and from all and every his majesty's plantations, colonies and islands; in Asia, Africa and America, and to export from this kingdom, and carry unto all and every the said plantations, colonies, and islands, and there sell, dispose of, and barter all sorts of goods, wares, merchandizes and commodities, as well as of the growth product, or manufactory of this kingdom, as of any other part of Europe, commonly called European goods, and import, and bring into this kingdom of Ireland, all sorts of goods, wares, merchandizes, and commodities of the growth, product, or manufactory, of all or any the said islands, colonies and plantations, without being obliged to land or unload in England, Wales, or the town of Berwick upon Tweed, or entering all or any such goods, wares, or merchandizes there; but as herein after is expressed, and without being obliged upon shipping, or taking on board, in the said plantations, colonies, or islands, the said commodities, to enter into any bond, to bring the said goods into England, Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed, and to unload and put the same on shore, any act, statute, ordinance, law, sentence, or judgment, at any time heretofore made, given, or in force, to the contrary notwithstanding: provided always, that the master or owner of all and every such ship and ships, vessel or vessels, so trading, from this kingdom, unto all or any the said islands, colo-

nies, or plantations, his or their agent or factors shall, and do before such ship or ships, vessel or vessels, sail from any part of this kingdom, towards the said islands, colonies, or plantations perfect, and enter into a bond, with one sufficient security, to the use of the king, and to be perfected to the collector, or chief custom-house officer of such port or place, whence such ship or vessel is to sail, in such a reasonable sum, as such collector, or custom-house officer, shall require, regard being had to the value of such cargo, as the said ship or vessel shall export, with condition to bring the goods, wares, and merchandizes, which such ship or vessel shall take in, at all or any the said plantations, colonies or islands, into England, Ireland, Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed, and to no other place, and there to aborad and put the same on shore, the danger of the seas only excepted: be it likewise enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all goods and merchandizes whatsoever, which shall be carried, conveyed, or exported out of this kingdom of Ireland, to the said islands, colonies and plantations, shall be liable, and pay to the king's majesty, his heirs and successors, in the said islands, plantations and colonies, the same or so much customs, excise, or other duties, as the like goods or merchandizes being exported out of England, into all, or any the said plantations, colonies, or islands, and all goods or merchandizes imported into this kingdom, out of all or any the said islands, colonies and plantations, (tobacco and sugar only excepted) shall pay in

this kingdom to the use of the king's majesty, his heirs and successors, the same or like duties, custom and excise, and no more or other, and in such manner, and at such time, and subject to such penalties and forfeitures, for non-entry, undue-entry, or non-payment of duties, 'as in the like acts of parliament made in this kingdom in the fourteenth or fifteenth years of the reign of the late king Charles II.; the one intituled, "An act for settling the subsidy or poundage, and granting of subsidy or tonnage, and other sums of money unto his royal majesty, his heirs and successors; the same to be paid upon merchandize, imported and exported into, or out of the kingdom of Ireland, according to a book of rates hereunto annexed;" and the other, intituled, "An act for the settling of the excise, or new impost, upon his majesty, his heirs and successors, according to the book of rates therein inserted, and as in the said book of rates, and as in the rules, orders and directions, to the said acts and books of rates annexed, are contained and specified:" and whereas, the duties, and custom, and excise on tobacco, of the king's majesty's plantations, imported into this kingdom, amount to no more, according to the said two late acts of parliament in this kingdom, and books of rates to them annexed, but to two pence per pound, which is too small a duty. Be it therefore enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all tobacco of the growth, or product of all or any his majesty's new plantations or islands, or any plantations belonging to his most christian majesty, imported

into this kingdom, out of all or any the said plantations and islands, shall from and after the 18th day of July, 1689, be charged, and liable to pay unto his majesty, his heirs, and successors, the sum of five pence sterling for each pound, custom, and excise, (that is to say) two pence for each pound custom, and three pence for each pound excise, and no more, provided always, that Spanish and Brazill tobacco shall pay the same duty of custom, and excise, as formerly; and that likewise, tobacco of that growth or product of the king's plantation, or any of the foreign plantations belonging to his most christian majesty, imported into this kingdom out of England, or any other part of Europe at any time, from or after the 18th day of July, 1689, shall pay and satisfy unto the king's majesty, his heirs and successors, the sum of two pence sterling, custom, for and out of each, and every pound, and the sum of two-pence halfpenny sterling, excise for and out of each pound and no more. And, that sugars, indigo, legwood, imported into this kingdom out of England, shall pay and satisfy unto the king's majesty, his heirs and successors, viz. white sugar coming from England, ten shillings custom, and ten shillings excise, for every hundred weight, and no more; brown sugar, the sum of two shillings six-pence sterling custom, and the like sum of two shillings six-pence sterling excise for each hundred weight, and no more; the said duties, customs, and excise to be paid in such manner, and under such pains and forfeitures, and with such allowances,

as in the aforesaid two acts and books of rates, orders and directions are expressed and contained. And for the further encouragement and advance of the said plantation trade, and for maintaining a greater, and more firm correspondence and kindness between the subjects of this kingdom, and the planters, and inhabitants of the said plantations and islands; be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that whatsoever goods or commodities of the growth, product, or manufactory of the said islands or plantations, shall be at any time hereafter unloaded, or landed, in any part of this kingdom, and shall pay or secure to be paid, the custom, duties, and excise on the said goods, due and payable, that at any time hereafter, within the space of one whole year, to commence from the day of such landing, it shall, and may be lawful to and for the merchant, owner or proprietor of such goods and commodities, his or their agents or factors, to export and carry out of this kingdom into any other nation, dominion or country, such and so much of the said goods and commodities so landed, as he or they shall think fit; and that upon such exportation the whole excise of such goods, which was before paid, or secured to be paid for the same, and one half of the custom of the said goods before paid or secured to be paid, shall be repaid or allowed to such merchant, owner, proprietor, his or their factors or agents so exporting, and that within twenty days next and immediately ensuing the date and time of such exportation, tobacco only excepted. And for the more

encouragement of building good and serviceable ships, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that any person or persons who shall within the space of ten years to commence the 24th of June 1689, build, or cause to be built within this kingdom of Ireland any ship or vessel above twenty-five ton, and under one hundred ton burthen, shall and may for the first three voyages any such ship or vessel shall make out of this kingdom, upon the said ships or vessels return from such voyage back into this kingdom, have, receive, or be allowed to his and their own proper use one eighth part of the duties of customs and excise which shall be due or payable to the king, his heirs or successors, for and out of all the goods and commodities so imported in such ship or vessel upon the said three first returns, which such ship or vessel shall make into this kingdom. And likewise, that any person or persons, who shall within the said space of ten years commencing, as aforesaid, build or cause to be built in this kingdom any ship or vessel exceeding in burthen one hundred tons, shall for the first four voyages such ship or vessel shall make out of this kingdom, and upon the said ship or vessels return from the said voyages back to this kingdom, have and receive to his and their own proper use one eighth part of the duties of custom and excise, which shall be due or payable to the king, his heirs or successors, for or out of the goods and commodities so imported into such ship or vessel upon the four first returns such ship or vessel shall make out of this kingdom.

And to the end that masters of ships, seamen, mariners, shipwrights, carpenters, rope-makers and block-makers may be encouraged and invited to come and dwell in this kingdom, and that thereby navigation may improve and increase, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every masters of ships, and shipwrights, ship carpenters, seamen, marines, rope-makers, and block-makers, who are at present residing within this kingdom, or who shall or do at any time from henceforth come and reside in this kingdom of Ireland, and shall pursue and follow his trade or calling, shall and may for the time and space of ten years after his or their so coming into this kingdom, be freed, exempted and discharged of, and from all sorts of taxes, and cesses, watch, ward, and quartering of soldiers and officers in and throughout this kingdom: and shall likewise have and be allowed his and their freedom gratis in any town, city, sea-port corporation or borough, where he or they shall please to reside, and pursue his or their calling or trade. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that in the respective cities and towns of Dublin, Belfast, Waterford, Cork, Limerick and Galway there shall be established, erected and settled, before the first day of December, 1689, in each of the said towns and cities, and so continued for ever hereafter, a free school for teaching and instructing the said arts: and that every of the said towns and cities shall out of the public revenue and stock to them belonging, or otherwise, settle and secure a rea-

sonable pension and stipend for such master or masters, to be paid them quarterly during his and their continuance in such employment or employments: provided always, and be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said duties of custom and excise of tobacco of the growth or product of his majesty's plantation, shall be and continue payable to his majesty, his heirs and successors, during the time, and so long as this kingdom of Ireland shall have a free and open trade to and from the king's said foreign plantations, and no longer; and whensoever the said duties of five pence per pound custom and excise, payable for tobacco imported in this kingdom before the making of this act, shall remain, and be payable for ever thereafter to his majesty, his heirs and successors, and no more or other, and this present duty to cease and determine. Provided likewise, that it shall and may be lawful to and for all and every person and persons so importing tobacco from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to export and carry out of this kingdom into any other nation or kingdom all or any part of the said tobacco imported, and that upon such exportation out of this kingdom, the whole duty of excise of the said tobacco, and three half pence per pound of the custom shall be allowed and repaid the merchant, owner or proprietor, his or their agents or factors so exporting the said tobacco: so that there shall be and remain to his majesty, his heirs and successors, but one half penny per pound custom for the said tobacco so exported.

Disregarding the legislative privileges of the Irish parliament, that of England, enacted, in the second session of the first parliament of William and Mary, that the persons now or of late assembled in Dublin, without any authority derived from their majesties, calling themselves a parliament, were not, nor are a parliament, but an unlawful and rebellious assembly; and all acts and proceedings whatsoever, made or passed in the said pretended parliament, shall be adjudged void, &c.

The second parliament under William, held in Dublin, an. 1695, passed an act, declaring all attainders and other acts made in a late pretended parliament, held under king James at Dublin, about the 7th of May, 1689, to be void; and that all the rolls, journals, &c. relating thereto, should be cancelled and destroyed. Accordingly on the 2nd of October, they were publicly burned. Yet, it being the fairest representation of the people of Ireland ever assembled in parliament; the members, men of landed property; their acts, the most patriotic in the annals of Ireland, their names should stand recorded, and are as follow,

PEERS,

Sir Alexander Fitter, lord	Earl of Granard,
baron of Gosworth, lord	Earl of Limerick,
Chancellor,	Lord Viscount Glanmalira,
Earl of Westmeath,	Viscount Killmallock,
Earl of Barrymore,	Viscount Iveagh,
Earl of Clancarty,	Viscount Mountgarret,
Earl of Tyrone,	Viscount Dillon,
Earl of Longford,	Viscount Rosse,

Viscount Gallway,
 Sir Valentine Browne, Vis-
 count Kenmare,
 Justin M'Carthy, Viscount
 Mountcashel,
 Lord Bishop of Meath,
 Bishop of Ossory,
 Bishop of Cork,
 Bishop of Limerick,
 Lord Baron of Atherdee,
 Baron of Kinsale,
 Baron of Enniskillen,
 Baron of Strabane,

Baron of Castleconnell,
 Baron of Brittas,
 Baron of Dunboyne,
 Baron of Cahirr,
 Baron of Howth,
 Baron of Dunsany,
 Barony of Upper Ossory,
 Lord Baron of Slane,
 Chief Justice Nugent, baron
 of Riverstown,
 John Bourk, baron of Bophin,
 Baron of Trimlestown.

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 Constantine O'Neale, Esq.

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Marcus Talbott,
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Borough of Old Leighlin.

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 Daniel Doran.

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 sey, Esq.

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 lagh, Esq.

Borough of Ennis.

Florence Mac Namarra, of
 Dronodd, Esq.
 Theobald Butler, of Straghna-
 gohoque, Esq.

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Justin Mac Carthy, Esq.
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 (Speaker.)

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 Edward Gough, Alderman.

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Borough of Banden Bridge.

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Edward Powell, Esq.

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John Baggot, sen. of Bagots-
town, Esq.

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kelly, Gent.

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Sir John Fitzgerald, Bart.

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 Walter Nangle, Esq.

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 Christopher Cusack, of Corballis, Esq.

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 James Tobin, of Fethard, Esq. Brian Geoghegan, of Donore,
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City of Cashell.
 Denis Kearny, Alderman, Charles Geoghegan, of Lyo-
 James Hacket, Alderman. nane, Esq.

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<i>Borough of Bannow.</i>	COUNTY OF WICKLOW.
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Dr. Alexis Stafford.	William Talbot, Esq.
<i>Borough of Cloghmine.</i>	<i>Borough of Wicklow.</i>
Edward Sherlock, of the city	Francis Tool, Esq.
of Dublin, Esq.	Thomas Byrne, Esq.
Nicholas White, of Rosse,	<i>Borough of Blessington.</i>
merchant.	James Eustace, Esq.
<i>Borough of Fethard.</i>	Maurice Eustace, Gent.
The Right Hon. Col. James	<i>Borough of Carisfort.</i>
Porter,	Hugh Byrone, Esq.
Captain Nicholas Strafford.	Pierce Archbold, Esq.

If we compare the patriotic acts of this true Irish parliament, with the penal code, and the restrictions on Irish trade, manufacture and navigation, passed by the revolutionary parliaments of William and Anne, we shall see no motive for the annual commemorations of Glorious memory, but the infatuation of party exulting over the ruin of their country. Indeed a monopoly of the linen manufacture was promised for the surrender of the woollen; but that promise was not thought binding, or observed.

Though the terms obtained by the treaty of Limerick were less favourable, than, to terminate the Irish war, William was disposed to grant; yet the English protestants looked with unbounded resentment upon articles, which rendered, in some measure, independent, a people, whom they abhorred.* The designing men of this party quarrelled with the articles, only because their expectations were disappointed, of raising large fortunes out of the forfeitures, by their interest

* Macphers. Hist. Great Brit.

or their money. They easily drew in a majority of the protestants to engage on the popular side of the question. They thought the Irish entitled to no articles, but what would expose them to the severest events of war; and, therefore, when they understood, that the papists, in the Irish quarters, were to enjoy their estates, and be received as subjects, with some privileges concerning oaths and religion, they censured the lords justices and the general, as if the king and kingdom were betrayed; insisting, that the articles ought not to be observed; and that it was high-treason even to capitulate with the king.

On the other hand, the more moderate protestants thought it for his majesty's honour and interest, both abroad and at home, that the articles should be strictly observed; and the king thought so too, by repeating his instructions for that purpose. His word and honour were engaged, which he would by no means forfeit.

And besides it was thought sound policy, to give the Irish the full benefit of their articles. For the French, soon discovering their error, in neglecting Ireland so much as they had done, when so considerable a part of the natives were in arms to assist them, projected a new invasion every year; and had the Irish been exasperated by a breach of the articles, would have studied means to foment a new rebellion among them.

This party-war was soon declared from the pulpit (the most improper place to blow up the coals of sedition). Doctor Dopping, bishop of Meath, in other respects an excellent prelate, was

so hurried away by popular notions, that the very Sunday after the justices returned from the camp, preaching before them in Christ-church, he argued, “ that the peace ought not to be observed with a people so perfidious; that they kept neither articles nor oaths, longer than was for their interest; and that therefore these articles, which were intended for a security, would prove a snare; and would only enable the rebels to play their pranks over again on the first opportunity.”

To obviate this doctrine, Doctor Moreton, bishop of Kildare, the following Sunday, shewed the obligation of keeping the public faith, and withal spoke more favourably of the papists than any other protestant thought they deserved; especially as the first bishop was known to be a very honest man, and to intend, not the direct violation of faith, but to have so strict a hand kept over the papists, as might disable them from rebelling again; and though Doctor Moreton was as well known to have no unwarrantable kindness for that people, nor to intend more than to vindicate the government in making and observing the articles, yet they were both highly censured by the different parties; and the bishop of Meath's behaviour was so much resented by the king, that he was put out of the council, and the bishop of Kildare, for his moderation, substituted in his place.

There doctrine became so much the subject of discourse, that it was necessary to settle people's opinions upon the controverted points; and to that end dean Synge preached in the same church, upon these words, ‘ keep peace with all men, if

it be possible;’ and moderated so judiciously, by asserting, “ that the papists were not to be trusted, but the articles were to be performed; that they deserved no favour, yet were intitled to justice, even for the sake of conscience and honor;” that no more was heard of the dispute from the pulpit; but in parliament and council the difference subsisted, until the English act of resumption quieted the disputants, who then saw they lost nothing by the articles.*

The infringement of these articles on the part of government commenced very early after they were signed; and it was afterwards repeated, from time to time, in such a manner, as to prepare the minds of the people to receive with less surprize, the total violation of them by acts “ to prevent the further growth of popery,” which were then in contemplation.

For although by the first military article, “ it was agreed, that all persons of what quality soever that were willing to leave the kingdom, should have free liberty to go into any country beyond the seas (England and Scotland excepted) with their families;”* yet, it is confessed that the lords justices, and general Ginckle, endeavoured to render this article of as little force as possible: “ for as great numbers of the Irish officers and soldiers had resolved to enter into the service of France, and to carry their families with them, Ginckle would not suffer their wives and children to be shipped off with the men; not doubting but that by detaining the former, he would have

* Harris’s Life of king William.

prevented many of the latter from going into that service. This, I say, was confessedly an infringement of that article.

And in less than two months after the capitulation of Limerick was confirmed by their majesties, "the justices of peace, sheriffs, and other magistrates, presuming on their power in the country, did, in an illegal manner, dispossess several of their majesties subjects, not only of their goods and chattels, but of their lands and tenements, to the great disturbance of the peace of the kingdom, subversion of the law, and reproach of their majesties government."* It appears from a letter of the lords justices of the 19th of November, 1691, "that their lordships had received complaints from all parts of Ireland, of the ill treatment of the Irish, who had submitted, had their majesties protection, or were included in articles; and that they were so extremely terrified with apprehensions of the continuance of that usage, that some thousands of them, who had quitted the Irish army, and went home with a resolution to go to France, were then come back again, and pressed earnestly to go thither, rather than stay in Ireland, where, contrary to the public faith (add these justices) as well as law and justice, they were robbed of their substance and abused in their persons."

Though the 12th article of the treaty of Limerick engaged that king William should use his utmost endeavours that the treaty should be ratified and confirmed in parliament, yet the first

* Harris's Life of king William.

parliament passed over them in silence. In 1692, the deputy, lord Sidney, summoned a parliament, principally to raise money. In it, the undoubted right of his majesty to the crown of Ireland was declared by an act. Protestant strangers, by another, were encouraged to settle here. By a third, £70,000 was granted by an excise on malt liquors. But accompanying this with a saving of their rights, and having negatived another money bill, 'because it had not originated in the commons,' they were suddenly prorogued, and accused by the deputy, of having undutifully invaded their majesties prerogative. They asked permission to place the subject before their majesties in a just point of view. "Yes," Sydney answered, "you shall have leave to go for England, to beg their majesties pardon for your seditious and riotous assemblies." His conduct was sanctioned by the judges.

At a subsequent meeting of parliament, a bill, upon the principle of the English bill of rights, was introduced into the house of lords. It proposed to enact, that the pretended power of suspending, or executing laws by royal authority is illegal, without consent of parliament. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or of executing laws, by regal authority, as assumed and exercised in the late reign, is illegal. That it is the right of the subject to petition the king, and that all prosecutions and commitments for the same, are illegal. That the levying money, for the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, without consent of parliament, for longer

time than the same is, or shall be granted, is illegal. That protestants, suitable to their condition, may have arms for their defence, as permitted by law. That the election of members of parliament ought to be free. That the freedom of speech in parliament, can only be impeached or questioned in parliament. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unnatural punishments inflicted. That jurors ought to be duly impannelled and returned, and that jurors in trials for high treason, should be freeholders. That all grants and promises of particular persons, before conviction, are illegal. The bill being sent to the commons, they added to it the following amendment. That for redress of all grievances in this kingdom, and for improving, strengthening, and preserving the laws, parliaments ought not to be disused, as they have been in the late reigns. That the free quartering of soldiers on any subject of this kingdom, in time of peace, is arbitrary and illegal.

The bill was transmitted, but, to the very great discredit of government, not returned. As the parliament continued to act on principles offensive to the court, it was prorogued a second time, and then dissolved.

The English in Ireland thought the government favoured the Irish too much, which some imputed to bribery; while others thought it necessary to protect the Irish from the prosecutions of the English, who were much sharpened against them. Sydney was recalled; and the government vested in lord Capel, sir Cyril Wyche, and Mr.

Duncombe, who were not long unanimous in their measures. Lord Capel studied to render himself popular, by espousing the interests of the English, without any nice regard to justice or equity. He was too easily set on by an interested party, to do every thing that might gain applause, and proceeded as far as in his power, even to infringe the articles granted to the Irish upon the surrender of Galway and Limerick, which the king and his ministers were bound to see strictly performed. The other lords justices, Sir Cyril Wyche and Mr. Duncombe, were men of severe tempers, strictly just, and studied to protect the Irish against the attempts made to oppress them; nor did they endeavour to make themselves otherwise popular, than by a wise and just administration. Lord Capel finding his schemes frequently defeated by their vigilance and opposition, repaired by licence to England, and the government, by the king's special command, was placed in the hands of Sir Charles Porter and Sir Cyril Wyche, who conducted the affairs of it with great moderation and justice, to the no small mortification of the prevailing party. The lord Capel's journey was concerted to procure the government solely for himself; for which end he undertook to manage a parliament, and carry all things as the court pleased, if he were made lord deputy, and had power to place and displace such as he should name. These terms being agreed to, he returned to Ireland, and was sworn lord deputy on the twenty-seventh of May, 1695; and having made several removes, he opened a parliament

at Dublin, on the twenty-seventh of August.*

If the Irish now expected the performance of their majesties engagement, to procure them such security as would prevent them from future disturbance, they were miserably disappointed. Instead of fulfilment of engagements, more money, and the establishment of a protestant interest in Ireland, was declared to be the cause of summoning parliament.

For these purposes, £163,325 was granted by additional duties; and the commons resolved, "that the great interest and countenance the Irish had in the court of England during the two last reigns, had been the chief cause of all the miseries and calamities that had since befallen the kingdom." This vote was preparatory to the laws to prevent the growth of popery. The business was actively entered into, and several persecuting statutes enacted.

To render men patient, under a deprivation of all the rights of human nature, every thing which could give them a knowledge or feeling of those rights was rationally forbidden. To render humanity fit to be insulted, it was fit that it should be degraded.† Accordingly Papists were incapacitated from being schoolmasters, under £20 penalty and three months imprisonment for every offence. Having thus precluded Roman catholic youth from education in their native country, it was thought they might possibly receive it in a foreign land. To prevent this, it was enacted,

* Harris's Life of king William.

† Burke's Letter to lord Kenmare.

that if any subjects of Ireland should, after that session of parliament, go or send any child or person, to be educated in any popish university, college or school, or in any private family; or if such child should, by any popish person, be instructed in the popish religion, or if any subjects of Ireland should send money or other things towards the maintenance of such child or other person already sent or to be sent; every such offender, being thereof convicted, should be for ever disabled to sue or prosecute any action, bill, plaint, or information, in law or equity; to be guardian, administrator or executor to any person; or to be capable of any legacy or deed of gift, and besides should forfeit all their estates, both real and personal, during their lives. This law was rigorously executed during this and the succeeding reign, and the penalties increased.

By another act, all papists were obliged to deliver up their arms, armour and ammunition, under the penalty, if a peer or peeress, for the first offence, £100; for the second, a premunire. All under that degree; for the first offence, £30 penalty and twelve months imprisonment. Noblemen and gentlemen, comprehended in the articles of Galway and Limerick, were allowed to keep a sword, case of pistols, or gun, for their defence.

Gun-smiths were also prohibited from taking popish apprentices, under the penalty of twenty pounds for every offence: the indentures and bonds of apprenticeship to be void: and every papist exercising the trade of a gunsmith to forfeit twenty pounds.

Horses, mares or geldings, belonging to papists, were made seizable, and given to the protestant informer, upon paying five pounds five shillings for each to the owner. Concealing or assisting to conceal such horses, &c. was punishable with three months imprisonment, and a fine of treble the value of such horses.

By another act, all priests exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and all regulars of the popish clergy, were ordered to depart the kingdom before the first of May 1698, under penalty of imprisonment till transported. But if they returned after transportation, they were to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. Concealers of such, were for the first offence to forfeit £20; for the second £40; forfeiture of lands and goods for the third.

To prevent intermarriages of protestants and papists, protestant heiresses, unless they married a known protestant, were deprived of their inheritance, which was vested in the next protestant relation. Protestant ministers, or popish priests, joining such disqualified persons in marriage, to be imprisoned twelve months and fined £20.

It is really shameful to see what mean, malicious and frivolous complaints against papists, were received under the notion of grievances, by this parliament. A petition of one Edward Sprag and others, in behalf of themselves and other protestant porters in and about the city of Dublin, complaining that one Darby Ryan, a papist, employed porters of his own persuasion, was received, and referred to a committee of grievances.

The articles of Limerick at length came under

consideration. An act was passed, which, instead of strengthening, materially weakened the security of the Irish. The first article of the treaty was wholly omitted; and each succeeding article limited, instead of being confirmed. On the introduction of this bill, a petition was presented from Robert Cusack, Gent., Captain Fras. Segrave, and Captain Maurice Eustace, in behalf of themselves and others comprized under the articles of Limerick, setting forth, that in the said bill there were several clauses, that would frustrate the petitioners of the benefit of the same; and if passed into a law, would turn to the ruin of some, and the prejudice of all persons intitled to the benefit of the said articles, and praying to be heard by counsel to said matters. But it was unanimously resolved that said petition should be rejected.

The peace of Ryswick having established the revolutionary throne of William; the treaty of partition having changed Louis into his ally, the English had leisure to turn their attention to Ireland. Mr. William Molyneaux, representative in parliament for the university of Dublin, distinguished by his abilities, knowledge, and patriotism, discovered a laudable desire to promote our manufactures. But he perceived, that neither our manufactures or commerce could succeed, so long as our natural and constitutional rights were oppressed by the unjust interference of the British legislature. Determined to vindicate the cause of his country, he turned his thoughts particularly to this subject, and, in 1698, published,

The Case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England stated. The good sense, public spirit, and knowledge of the constitution, by which this performance was distinguished, did great credit to the author. The treatment which it met with in England, determined its merit much more honourable than any praise which could be bestowed upon it by the loftiest panegyrick. There, by order of the government, it was burned by the hands of the public executioner. Despots are unwilling that the mysteries of their iniquity should be unveiled. The only feeling excited in the breasts of freemen, by such unmanly and impotent efforts of tyranny, is contempt.

In England, the woollen manufacture had become a staple commodity. With us likewise it was a profitable branch of commerce. Before the time of Charles I. we indraped our wool, and exported what we did not consume to foreign markets. Of this privilege the English, jealous of a competition, deprived us by several acts of parliament, more especially one enacted in the reign of Charles II. which was deeply marked with the most unjust severity. But all this was not sufficient.

In 1698, the English house of commons addressed his majesty king William, "That being very sensible, the wealth and power of England do in a great measure depend on the preserving the woollen manufacture, as much as possible, entire to this realm, they thought it became them, like their ancestors, to be jealous of the estab-

lishment and the increase thereof elsewhere, and to use their utmost endeavours to prevent it. That they could not without trouble observe, that Ireland, which is dependent on, and protected by England, in the enjoyment of all they have, and which is so proper for the linen manufacture, the establishment and growth of which there would be so enriching to themselves, and so profitable to England, should of late apply itself to the woollen manufacture, to the great prejudice of the trade of this kingdom; and so unwillingly promote the linen trade, which would benefit both nations. That the consequence thereof would necessitate his majesty's parliament of England to interpose, to prevent this mischief, unless his majesty, by his authority and great wisdom, should find means to secure the trade of England, by making his subjects of Ireland pursue the joint interest of both kingdoms; wherefore they implored his majesty's protection and favour in this matter; and that he would make it his royal care, and enjoin all those he employed in Ireland, to use their utmost diligence to hinder the exportation of wool from Ireland, (except it be imported hither) and for the discouraging the woollen manufactures, and encouraging the linen manufactures in Ireland; to which the commons of England should always be ready to give their utmost assistance." To this address his majesty made answer, "That he should do all that in him lay to promote the trade of England, and to discourage the woollen and encourage the linen manufacture in Ireland."

Accordingly on the 16th of July his majesty wrote to the earl of Galway, one of the lords justices, upon the occasion, recommending to his care to make effectual laws for the encouragement of the linen manufacture, and to discourage, as far as possible, the woollen; and further, that he would prevent the Irish parliament from taking notice of what had passed in the English house of commons.

The lords justices, on the meeting of the Irish parliament, acquainted those lords and gentlemen, that, among the bills, there was one for the encouragement of the linen and hempen manufactures, the settlement of which would contribute much to the peopling the country, and be more advantageous to this kingdom than the woollen manufacture; which, being the settled staple trade of England, from whence all foreign markets are supplied, can never be encouraged here for that purpose: whereas the linen and hempen manufactures will not only be encouraged, as consistent with the trade of England, but will render the trade of this kingdom both useful and necessary to England. The commons dutifully answered, that they would heartily endeavour to establish the linen manufacture, and to render the same useful to England, as well as advantageous to Ireland; and hoped to find such a temperament in respect to the woollen trade, that the same might not be injurious to England. On the tenth of October, 1698, the commons unanimously agreed, that it was necessary that the woollen trade of Ireland be regulated. This

they done, by imposing a duty of four shillings on every twenty shillings value of broad cloths exported from the 25th of March, 1699; and two shillings on every twenty shillings value of all serges, bays, kersies, perpetuanas, or any other sort of new drapery made of wool, or even mixed with wool, frizes only excepted. This gave a sudden stagnation to that branch of trade, and introduced a general poverty among the manufacturers.*

This was accompanied by an act, which prohibited to papists the profession of the law.

This was the last parliament held in Ireland under William. Its regulation of the woollen manufacture, however, was deemed defective. The English parliament immediately passed an act, prohibiting the export, directly or indirectly, from the kingdom of Ireland, after the 24th of June, 1699, except to England and Wales, of wool, woolfells, shortlings, mortlings, wool flocks, worsted, bay or woollen yarn, cloth, serge, bays, kerseys, says, frizes, drugets, cloth-serges, shal-lons, or any other drapery stuffs, or woollen manufactures whatsoever, made up or mixed with wool or wool flocks, under the penalty of forfeiture of goods, ship and tackle, and £500, for every offence. And at the same time appointed four frigates and eight armed sloops to cruise on the coast of Ireland, to enforce this act.

In opposition to the wishes of their sovereign, the English parliament compelled king William to give his assent to the resumption of the grants

* Harris's Life of king William.

of the forfeited estates. The violence done to his feelings on this and other occasions, particularly the unfeeling order for the sending out of England the brave Dutch guards, who had shared all his dangers, made a deep impression on his spirits; to which he was more susceptible, from the uneasiness and disappointments which the violence of party continually exposed him to.

Removed from the busy scene of politics, the latter years of the life of James were calmly spent in devotional duties and the amusement of hunting. Early in 1701, he was violently attacked by an apoplexy; the waters of Bourbon, instead of service, brought on a spitting of blood; his illness increased, and death terminated his sufferings, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, on the 16th of September, 1701, N.S. He was privately interred, according to his desire, in the church of the English Benedictines, in the suburbs of Paris, and his heart sent to the nunnery of Chaillot.

The kings of France and Spain styled his son king of Great-Britain; justifying this act by asserting, that there was no article in the treaty of Ryswick to the contrary. It was, however, considered by king William an act of hostility. The Pretender was attainted. The Grand Alliance formed. Vigorous war against France and Spain was determined upon; when an accident hastened the dissolution of this monarch, whose health had been gradually declining. In one of his excursions for exercise, his horse fell under him, by which his collar-bone was fractured. This proved

fatal. He died on the eighth of March, 1701-2; in the fifty-second year of his age, and thirteenth of his reign, shortly after, by a stamp, he gave the royal assent to an act of parliament for abjuring the Pretender.

No writer, either partial or adverse, has, that I could find, hit on the right method of estimating his character. The one, in vain endeavours to suppress or palliate, what the others, perhaps erroneously, impute to natural depravity, or ferocious bigotry. If the first charge was true, how could he be idolized in Holland; where he is justly stated, by an English writer, to reign as king, in the affections of a free people; while in England he was but a stadtholder. If the second was any better founded, how could he be the ally of the pope, the emperor, and other catholic princes; and have so many catholic generals in his service. Enough has not been allowed to the influence of situation, circumstances and parties. William cannot be considered a conqueror, but merely the leader of a revolution, in which he was not the primary mover, but secondary and instrumental. Were he a conqueror, it would be right to conjecture his natural disposition from his public conduct; as a revolutionary, he must also be led. He must yield much, to the dispositions, tempers, passions and political relations of his party, contrary to his judgment and feelings. He must sacrifice principle and honor, the plighted faith of solemn treaties, to revolutionary passions and party interests. The popular ferment and defection, that caused the abdication,

might be allayed by time. Natural duty and allegiance might return, if the revolutionary party were not committed in unpardonable excesses, that would make them dread retaliation from the loyalists, and shudder at the thought of a counter revolution. The perfidy and cruelty, experienced by Irish, Scotch and English Jacobites, so called, may, therefore, have proceeded more from the policy, and imperious influence of party, than from the natural disposition of their leader. One would be the more confirmed in this opinion, from an attentive survey of Irish history since the English invasion. The unexampled invariability of evil it exhibits, can scarcely be attributed to the individual characters of kings, during so long a succession of kings, and changes of dynasties, constitution and religion. For example, during half the time, the Roman empire, in changes of masters, experienced great diversity of character. 'Tis true, that vast portion of mankind were sometimes afflicted and disgraced by such monsters as Nero, Tiberius, Caligula; but, in recompense, they were consoled, adorned and protected, by the virtues and abilities of the Antonines, Marcus Aurelius, Nerva, Trajan, Titus, and a few others. As for Ireland, the chain of her sufferings was unbroken, uninterrupted by any treatment emanating from principles of humanity or sound policy. Their shocking calamities, on enquiry, will find their real source, in the national antipathy and hatred of the English people. This made it the policy of so long a catalogue of their rulers, to deal perfidiously and inhumanly with

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the Irish. It was a ready mode of allaying public discontent, of screening public delinquency or inability. For all crimes of statesmen and factions, Ireland must be the scape-goat, chased and cursed with the whole load of their sins, into the wilderness of desolation, war and famine. "All the penal laws of that unparalleled code of oppression, which were made after the revolution, were manifestly the effects of national hatred and scorn towards a conquered people, whom the victors delighted to trample upon, and were not afraid to provoke."*

This revolution, and its leader, made very different impressions in England and Ireland. William was thwarted, and often grossly offended, in the former country; who gained the dominion of the sea, and universal commerce, by the event. In the latter, stript by the revolution of manufactures and commerce, he was worshipped, by a party frantic with intolerance, false zeal, and party malevolence. Strange, that any being, pretending to rationality, should solemnize annually, with every demonstration of joy, the downfall and impoverishment of their country. 'Tis a striking proof, that logicians defined man wrong, when they called him a rational animal.

William was succeeded by Anne, princess of Denmark, daughter of James II. The sufferings of the catholics, under this last Stuart that wore the crown of England, were not diminished by their peaceable submission to all the inflictions

* Burke's Letter to Sir H. Langrishe.

of tyranny and perfidy. On the contrary, their quiet, humble demeanor seems to have provoked, rather than abated the rancour of their enemies. The duke of Ormond, in 1703, acquainted the parliament, that her majesty expected a revenue equal to the expences of government, and provision for paying the debt of the nation; that his views were the same as theirs, the promoting of her majesty's service, and the welfare of his native country. This welfare he and they endeavoured to promote, by the utter ruin of the majority of the inhabitants. It was a persecution as wanton as violent, over a fallen, oppressed people, without the least plea of state necessity, or public insecurity. It was the wanton abuse of triumphant, irresistible power, to crush and destroy, without shame, fear or remorse. The commons, in a body, presented to the duke of Ormond a bill to prevent the further growth of popery; pressing him to intercede so effectually, that it might be returned under the great seal of England. He promised, and punctually performed, that he would recommend it in the most effectual manner; and do every thing in his power to prevent the growth of popery.

That many of the members of this parliament were ashamed of the violent persecution carried on by public authority, appears from the numerous resignations of seats to avoid being concerned therein. These resignations became so frequent, that the commons resolved, "that the excusing of members, at their own request, from the service of the house, and thereupon issuing

out new writs to elect other members to serve in their places, was of dangerous consequence, and tended to the subversion of the constitution of parliament." But the resignations continuing, it was afterwards unanimously resolved, "that it might be the standing order of the house, that no new writs for electing members of parliament, in the place of members excusing themselves from the service of the house, do issue, at the desire of such members, notwithstanding any former precedents to the contrary."

The bill was returned with a clause inserted in England, which gave great offence to the whole body of dissenters in Ireland; many of whom, then in the house of commons, were persons of considerable power and influence. For this reason it was expected, that it would have been totally laid aside; and the rather, because the dissenters had lately received no small disgust by a resolution of a committee in October 1703, "that the pension of one thousand two hundred pounds per annum, granted to the presbyterian ministers in Ulster, was an unnecessary branch of the establishment."

The dissenters, in their petition to the commons on occasion of the abovementioned clause, complained, "that to their great surprize and disappointment, they found a clause inserted in the act to prevent the further growth of popery, which had not its rise in that honourable house; whereby they were disabled from executing any public trust, for the service of her majesty, the protestant religion, or their country; unless,

contrary to their consciences, they should receive the Lord's supper, according to the rites and usages of the established church."

This clause has been since called the sacramental test, then first imposed on the dissenters of Ireland; whose zeal against popery was so credulously blind at that juncture, that upon a promise given them of having it repealed on the first opportunity, they readily concurred in passing, together with the clauses against popery, that mortifying one against themselves. But their friends in parliament afterwards wanting either the power or the inclination to make good their promise, that clause was not only left unrepealed, but also put in frequent and strict execution, during all queen Anne's reign. In October 1707, these commons entered into such severe resolutions against dissenters, as plainly shewed how little confidence their brethren ought to have placed in the promise they made them in 1703. For first, they resolved, that, by an act to prevent the further growth of popery, the burgesses of Belfast were obliged to subscribe the declaration, and receive the sacrament according to the usage of the church of Ireland. And secondly, upon the non-compliance of some of these burgesses, that the burgessship of the said burgesses of Belfast, who had not subscribed the declaration, and received the sacrament, pursuant to the said act, was, by such neglect, become vacant. In short, notwithstanding the most strenuous and repeated efforts made by the dissenters, to have that disqualifying clause repealed,

although its execution had been either artfully evaded, or benignly connived at, since the accession of the present royal family to the throne of these kingdoms, it remained in full force against them until 1782, when it was repealed without any opposition.*

Upon the return of the bill to prevent the further growth of popery from England, Nicholas lord Kingsland, colonel John Brown, colonel Burke, colonel Robert Nugent, major Allen, captain Arthur French, with other Roman catholics of Ireland, and persons comprized in the articles of Limerick and Galway, petitioned to be heard by counsel against it; which was granted.

Accordingly Sir Theobald Butler, counsellor Malone, and Sir Stephen Rice, (the two first in their gowns as counsel for the petitioners in general, and the last without a gown, only as a petitioner in his private capacity,) together with many others, upon Tuesday the 22d of February, 1703, appeared at the bar of the said house of commons, where Sir Theobald Butler first moved and acquainted the house, that, by the permission of that house, he was come thither in behalf of himself, and the rest of the Roman catholics of Ireland comprised in the Articles of Limerick and Galway, to offer some reasons, which he and the rest of the petitioners judged very material against passing the bill, intituled An act to prevent the further growth of popery; that by leave of the house he had taken a copy of the said bill, and, with submission, looked upon it to tend to

* Hist. Rev. Civil Wars of Ireland.

the destroying of the said articles, granted upon the most valuable considerations of surrendering the said garrisons, at a time when they had the sword in their hands; and for any thing that then appeared to the contrary, might have been in a condition to hold out much longer, and when it was in their power to demand, and make for themselves such terms, as might be for their then future liberty, safety and security: and that too, when the allowing such terms were highly advantageous to the government to which they submitted; as well for uniting the people, that were then divided, quieting and settling the distractions and disorders of this then miserable kingdom, as for the other advantages the government would thereby reap in its own affairs, both at home and abroad; when its enemies were so powerful both by sea and land, as to give doubt or interruption to its peace and settlement.

That by such their power, those of Limerick did for themselves, and others therein comprized, obtain, and make such articles, as by which, all the Irish inhabitants in the city and county of Limerick, and in the counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligo and Mayo, had full and free pardon of and for all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprision of treasons, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes whatever, which at any time from the beginning of king James the Second, to the 3d. of October 1691, had been acted, committed, or done by them, or any of them; and by which they and their heirs were to be forthwith put in possession of, and for ever possess and enjoy all

and every of their freeholds and inheritance; and all their rights, titles and interests, privileges and immunities, which they and every of them hold and enjoyed, and by the laws in force were entituled unto, in the reign of king Charles II., or at any time since, by the laws and statutes that were in force in that reign, &c. And thereupon read so much of the second article of Limerick, as tended to that purpose.

That in the reign of king Charles the Second, the petitioners, and all that were entituled to the benefit of those articles, were in such full and free possession of their estates; and had the same power to sell, or otherwise to dispose, or convey them, or any other thing they enjoyed; and were as rightfully intituled to all the privileges, immunities and other advantages whatever, according to the laws then in force, as any other subjects whatsoever, and which, therefore, without the highest injustice, could not be taken from them, unless they had forfeited them themselves.

That if they had made any such forfeiture, it was either before or after the making the said articles: if before, they had a full and free pardon for that by the said articles, &c. and therefore are not accountable by any law now in force for the same; and for that reason not now to be charged with it, and since they cannot be charged with any general forfeiture of those articles since, they at that same time remained as absolutely intituled to all the privileges, advantages and benefits of the laws both already made, and here-

after to be made, as any other of her majesty's subjects whatsoever.

That among all societies there were some ill people, but that by the 10th article of Limerick the whole community is not to be charged with, nor forfeit by, the crimes of particular persons.

That there were already wholesome laws in force sufficient, and if not, such as were wanting might be made, to punish every offender according to the nature of their crime: and in the name of God let the guilty suffer for their own faults; but the innocent ought not to suffer for the guilty, nor the whole for any particular. That surely they would not (now they had tamely got the sword out of their hands) rob them of what was then in their power to have kept; for that would be unjust, and not according to that golden rule, to do as they would be done by, was the case reversed, and the contrary side their own.

That the said articles were first granted them by the general of the English army, upon the most important consideration of getting the city of Limerick into his hands (when it was in a condition to have held out till it might have been relieved by the succours then coming to it from France) and for preventing the further effusion of blood, and the other ill consequences which (by reason of the then divisions and disorders) the nation then laboured under; and for reducing those in arms against the English government to its obedience.

That the said articles were signed and perfected by the said general, and the then lords justices

of this kingdom; and afterwards ratified by their late majesties, for themselves, their heirs and successors; and have been since confirmed by an act of parliament in this kingdom, viz. stat. 9 Gul. 3. ses. 4. c. 27. (which he there produced and pleaded,) and said could not be avoided without breaking the said articles, and the public faith thereby plighted to all those comprised under the said articles, in the most solemn and engaging manner 'tis possible for any people to lay themselves under; and than which nothing could be more sacred and binding. That therefore to violate, or break those articles, would on the contrary be the greatest injustice possible for any one people of the whole world to inflict upon another, and which is contrary to both the laws of God and man.

That pursuant to these articles, all those Irish then in arms against the government, did submit thereunto, and surrendered the said city of Limerick, and all other garrisons then remaining in their possession; and did take such oaths of fidelity to the king and queen, &c. as by the said articles they were obliged to, and were put into possession of their estates, &c.

That such their submission was upon such terms, as ought now, and at all times to be made good to them: but that if the bill then before the house, intituled, An act to prevent the further growth of popery, should pass into a law, (which God forbid!) it would be not only a violation of those articles, but also a manifest breach of the public faith, of which the English

had always been most tender in many instances, some of which he there quoted ; and that, in particular, in the preamble of the act before-mentioned, made for confirmation of these articles, wherein there is a particular regard and respect had to the public faith.

That since the said articles were thus under the most solemn ties, and for such valuable considerations granted the petitioners, by nothing less than the general of the army, the lords justices of the kingdom, the king, queen, and parliament, the public faith of the nation was therein concerned, obliged, bound, and engaged, as fully and firmly as was possible for one people to pledge faith to another ; that therefore this parliament could not pass such a bill, as that intituled An act to prevent the further growth of popery, then before the house, into a law, without infringing those articles, and a manifest breach of the public faith ; of which he hoped that house would be no less regardful and tender, than their predecessors, who made the act for confirming those articles had been.

That the case of the Gibeonites, 2 Sam. xxi. 1. was a fearful example of breaking of public faith, which above 100 years after brought nothing less than a three years famine upon the land, and stayed not till the lives of all Saul's family atoned for it.

That even amongst the heathens, and most barbarous of nations, all the world over, the public faith had always been held most sacred and binding, that surely it would find no less a regard in that august assembly.

That if he proved that the passing that act was such a manifest breach of those articles, and consequently of the public faith, he hoped that honourable house would be very tender how they passed the said bill before them into a law; to the apparent prejudice of the petitioners, and the hazard of bringing upon themselves, and posterity, such evils, reproach and infamy, as the doing the like had brought upon other nations and people.

Now, that the passing such a bill as that then before the house, to prevent the further growth of popery, will be a breach of those articles, and consequently of the public faith, I prove by the following argument.

The argument then is, whatever shall be enacted to the prejudice or destroying of any obligation, covenant or contract, in the most solemn manner, and for the most valuable consideration entered into, is a manifest violation and destruction of every such obligation, covenant and contract: but the passing that bill into a law, will evidently and absolutely destroy the articles of Limerick and Galway, to all intents and purposes; and therefore the passing that bill into a law, will be such a breach of those articles; and consequently of the public faith, plighted for performing those articles; which remained to be proved.

The major is proved: for that whatever destroys or violates any contract or obligation, upon the most valuable considerations most solemnly made and entered into; destroys and violates the

end of every such contract or obligation: but the end and design of those articles was, that all those therein comprized, and every of their heirs, should hold, possess and enjoy, all and every of their estates of freehold and inheritance, and all the rights, titles and interests, privileges and immunities, which they and every of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully entituled to, in the reign of king Charles the Second, or at any time since, by the laws and statutes that were in force in the said reign in this realm: but that the design of this bill was, to take away every such right, title, interest, &c. from every father being a papist, and to make the popish father, who, by the articles and laws aforesaid, had an undoubted right, either to sell or otherwise at pleasure to dispose of his estate, at any time of his life, as he thought fit, only tenant for life: and consequently disabled from selling, or otherwise disposing thereof, after his son or other heir should become protestant; though otherwise never so disobedient, profligate, or extravagant: Ergo, this act tends to the destroying the end for which those articles were made, and consequently the breaking of the public faith, plighted for their performance.

The minor is proved by the 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 15th, 16th, and 17th, clauses of the said bill, all which I shall consider and speak to, in the order as they are placed in the bill.

By the first of these clauses, (which is the third of the bill,) I that am the popish father,

without committing any crime against the state, or the laws of the land, (by which only I ought to be governed) or any other fault; but merely for being of the religion of my forefathers, and that which, till of late years, was the ancient religion of these kingdoms, contrary to the express words of the second article of Limerick, and the public faith, plighted as aforesaid for their performance; am deprived of my inheritance, freehold, &c. and of all other advantages which by those articles, and the laws of the land, I am entituled to enjoy, equally with every other of my fellow subjects, whether protestant or popish. And though such my estate be even the purchase of my own hard labour and industry: yet I shall not (though my occasions be never so pressing) have liberty (after my eldest son or other heir becomes a protestant,) to sell, mortgage, or otherwise dispose of, or charge it for payment of my debts; or have leave out of my own estate, to order portions for my other children; or leave a legacy, though never so small, to my poor father or mother, or other poor relations; but during my own life, my estate shall be given to my son or other heir being a protestant, though never so undutiful, profligate, extravagant, or otherwise undeserving; and I that am the purchasing father, shall become tenant for life only, to my own purchase, inheritance and freehold; which I purchased with my own money: and such my son or other heir, by this act, shall be at liberty to sell, or otherwise at pleasure to dispose of my estate, the sweat of my brows, before my face;

and I that am the purchaser, shall not have liberty to raise one farthing upon the estate of my own purchase, either to pay my debts, or portion my daughters, (if any I have) or make provisions for my other male children, though never so deserving and dutiful: but my estate, and the issues and profits of it, shall, before my face, be at the disposal of another, who cannot possibly know, how to distinguish between the dutiful and undutiful, deserving or undeserving. Is not this, gentlemen, (said he) a hard case? I beseech you, gentlemen, to consider, whether you would not think it so, if the scale was changed, and the case your own, as it is like to be ours, if this bill pass into a law.

It is natural for the father to love the child, but we all know (says he), that children are but too apt and subject, without any such liberty as this bill gives, to slight and neglect their duty to their parents; and surely such an act as this, will not be an instrument of restraint, but rather encourage them more to it.

It is but too common with the son, who has a prospect of an estate, when once he arrives at the age of one and twenty, to think the old father too long in the way, between him and it; and how much more will he be subject to it, when by this act, he shall have liberty before he comes to that age, to compel and force my estate from me, without asking my leave, or being liable to account with me for it, or out of his share thereof, to a moiety of the debts, portions, or other incumbrances, with which the estate might

have been charged, before the passing this act.

Is not this against the laws of God and man? against the rules of reason and justice; by which all men ought to be governed? Is not this the only way in the world, to make children become undutiful? and to bring the grey-head of the parent to the grave, with grief and tears.

It would be hard from any man, but from a son, a child, the fruit of my body, whom I have nurst in my bosom, and tendred more dearly than my own life, to become my plunderer, to rob me of my estate, to cut my throat, and to take away my bread; is much more grievous than from any other; and enough to make the most flinty of hearts to bleed, to think on't. And yet this will be the case if this bill pass into a law; which I hope this honourable assembly will not think of, when they shall more seriously consider, and have weighed these matters.

For God's sake, gentlemen, will you consider whether this is according to the golden rule, to do as you would be done unto? And if not, surely you will not, nay you cannot, without being liable to be charged with the most manifest injustice imaginable, take from us our birth-rights, and invest them in others before our faces.

By the 4th clause of the bill, the popish father is under the penalty of £500 debarred from being guardian to, or having the tuition or custody of his own child or children: but if the child pretends to be a protestant, though never so young, or incapable of judging of the princi-

ples of any religion, it shall be taken from its own father, and put into the hands or care of a protestant relation, if any there be qualified as this act directs, for tuition, though never so great an enemy to the popish parent; and for want of relations so qualified, into the hands and tuition of such protestant stranger, as the court of chancery shall think fit to appoint; who perhaps may likewise be my enemy, and out of prejudice to me who am the popish father, shall infuse into my child, not only such principles of religion, as are wholly inconsistent with my liking; but also against the duty which by the laws both of God and nature, is due from every child to its parents: and it shall not be in my power to remedy, or question him for it; and yet I shall be obliged to pay for such education, how pernicious soever. Nay if a legacy or estate fall to any of my children, being minors, I that am the popish father, shall not have the liberty to take care of it, but it shall be put into the hands of a stranger; and though I see it confounded before my face, it shall not be in my power to help it. Is not this a hard case, gentlemen? I am sure you cannot but allow it to be a very hard case,

The 5th clause provides, that no protestant or protestants, having any estate real or personal, within this kingdom, shall at any time after the 24th of March 1703, intermarry with any papist, either in or out of this kingdom, under the penalties in an act made in the 9th of king William, intituled, An act to prevent protestants inter-marrying with papists.

Surely, gentlemen, this is such a law as was never heard of before, and against the law of right, and the law of nations; and therefore a law which is not in the power of mankind to make, without breaking through the laws which our wise ancestors prudently provided for the security of posterity, and which you cannot infringe, without hazarding the undermining the whole legislature, and encroaching upon the privileges of your neighbouring nations, which it is not reasonable to believe they will allow.

It has indeed been known, that there hath been laws made in England, that have been binding in Ireland: but surely it never was known, that any law made in Ireland could affect England or any other country. But by this act, a person committing matrimony (an ordinance of the Almighty) in England, or any other part beyond the seas, (where it is lawful both by the laws of God and man so to do,) if ever they come to live in Ireland, and have an inheritance or title to any interest to the value of £500, they shall be punished for a fact consonant with the laws of the land where it was committed. But, gentlemen, by your favour, this is what, with submission, is not in your power to do: for no law that either now is, or that hereafter shall be in force in this kingdom, shall be able to take cognizance of any fact committed in another nation: nor can any one nation make laws for any other nation, but what is subordinate to it, as Ireland is to England; but no other nation is subordinate to Ireland; and therefore any laws made in Ireland cannot punish

me for any fact committed in any other nation, but more especially England, to whom Ireland is subordinate: and the reason is, every free nation, such as all our neighbouring nations are, by the great law of nature, and the universal privileges of all nations, have an undoubted right to make, and be ruled and governed by laws of their own making: for that to submit to any other, would be to give away their own birth-right, and native freedom; and become subordinate to their neighbours, as we of this kingdom, since the making of Poyning's act, have been; and are to England. A right which England would never so much as endure to hear of, much less to submit to.

We see how careful our forefathers have been to provide that no man should be punished in one county (even of the same nation) for crimes committed in another county; and surely it would be highly unreasonable, and contrary to the laws of all nations in the whole world, to punish me in this kingdom, for a fact committed in England, or any other nation, which was not against, but consistent with the laws of the nation where it was committed. I am sure there is not any law in any other nation of the world that would do it.

The 6th clause of this bill, is likewise a manifest breach of the second of Limerick articles. For by that article, all persons comprized under those articles, were to enjoy, and have the full benefit of all the rights, titles, privileges and immunities whatsoever, which they enjoyed, or by the laws of the land then in force, were enti-

tuled to enjoy, in the reign of king Charles II. And by the laws then in force, all the papists of Ireland had the same liberty, that any of their fellow subjects had, to purchase any manors, lands, tenements, hereditaments, leases of lives, or for years, rents, or any other thing of profit whatsoever: but by this clause of this bill, every papist or person professing the popish religion, after the 24th of March 1703, is made incapable of purchasing any manors, lands, tenements, hereditaments, or any rents or profits out of the same; or holding any lease of lives, or any other lease whatsoever, for any term exceeding thirty-one years; wherein a rent, not less than two-thirds of the improved yearly value, shall be reserved, and made payable, during the whole term: and therefore this clause of this bill, if made into a law, will be a manifest breach of those articles.

The 7th clause is yet of much more general consequence, and not only a like breach of those articles, but also a manifest robbing of all the Roman catholics of the kingdom of their birth-right. For by those articles, all those therein comprized, were pardoned all misdemeanors whatsoever, of which they had in any manner of way been guilty; and restored to all the rights, liberties, privileges and immunities whatever, which, by the laws of the land, and customs, and constitutions and native birth-right, they, any, and every of them were, equally with every other of their fellow-subjects, entituled unto. And by the laws of nature and nations, as well as by the laws of the land, every native of any country has

an undoubted right and just title to all the privileges and advantages which such their native country affords: and surely no man but will allow, that by such a native right, every one born in any country, hath an undoubted right to the inheritance of his father, or any other, to whom he, or they, may be heir at law: but if this bill pass into a law, every native of this kingdom, that is and shall remain a papist, is, ipso facto, during life, or his or their continuing a papist, deprived of such inheritance, devise, gift, remainder or trust, of any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, of which any protestant now is, or hereafter shall be seized in fee-simple absolute, or fee-tail, which by the death of such protestant, or his wife, ought to descend immediately to his son or sons, or other issue in tail, being such papists, and 18 years of age; or, if under that age, within six months after coming to that age, shall not conform to the church of Ireland, as by law established; and every such devise, gift, remainder or trust, which, according to the laws of the land, and such native right, ought to descend to such papist, shall, during the life of such papist, (unless he forsake his religion,) descend to the nearest relation that is a protestant, and his heirs, being and continuing protestants, as though the said popish heir and all other popish relations were dead; without being accountable for the same: which is nothing less than robbing such popish heir of such his birth-right; for no other reason, but his being and continuing of that religion, which, by the first of Limerick articles,

the Roman catholics of this kingdom were to enjoy, as they did in the reign of king Charles II. and then there was no law in force, that deprived any Roman catholic of this kingdom of any such their native birth-right, or any other thing, which by the laws of the land then in force any other fellow subjects were entituled unto.

The 8th clause of this bill, is to erect in this kingdom a law of gavel-kind: a law in itself so monstrous and strange, that, I dare say, this is the first time it was ever heard of in the world; a law so pernicious and destructive to the well-being of families and societies, that, in an age or two, there will hardly be any remembrance of any of the ancient Roman catholic families known in this kingdom; a law, which, therefore, I may again venture to say, was never before known or heard of in the universe!

There is, indeed, in Kent, a custom, called the Custom of Gavel-kind; but I never heard of any law for it till now: and that custom is far different from what by this bill is intended to be made a law; for there, and by that custom, the father, or other person, dying possessed of any estate of his own acquisition, or not entailed, (let him be of what persuasion he will,) may by will bequeath it at pleasure: or if he dies without will, the estate shall not be divided, if there be any male heir to inherit it; but for want of male heir, then it shall descend in gavel-kind among the daughters, and not otherwise. But by this act, for want of a protestant heir, enrolled as such within three months after the death of such papist, to be

divided, share and share like, among all his sons; for want of sons, among his daughters; for want of such, among the collateral kindred of his father; and in want of such, among those of his mother; and this is to take place of any grant, settlement, &c. other than sale, for valuable consideration of money, really, bona fide, paid. And shall I not call this a strange law? Surely it is a strange law, which, contrary to the laws of all nations, thus confounds all settlements, how antient soever, or otherwise warrantable by all the laws heretofore in force, in this, or any other kingdom.

The 9th clause of this act, is another manifest breach of the articles of Limerick; for by the 9th of those articles, no oath is to be administered to, nor imposed upon such Roman catholics, as should submit to the government, but the oath of allegiance, appointed by an act of parliament made in England, in the first year of the reign of their late majesties king William and queen Mary, (which is the same with the first of those appointed by the 10th clause of this act:) but by this clause, none shall have the benefit of this act, that shall not conform to the church of Ireland, subscribe the declaration, and take and subscribe the oath of abjuration, appointed by the 9th clause of this act; and therefore this act is a manifest breach of those articles, &c. and a force upon all the Roman catholics therein comprized, either to abjure their religion, or part with their birth-rights; which, by those articles, they were, and are, as fully, and as rightfully

entituled unto, as any other subjects whatever.

The 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th clauses of this bill, relate to offices and employments, which the papists of Ireland cannot hope for the enjoyment of, otherwise than by grace and favour extraordinary; and therefore, do not so much affect them, as it does the protestant dissenters, who (if this bill pass into a law) are equally with the papists deprived of bearing any office, civil or military, under the government, to which by right of birth, and the laws of the land, they are as indisputably entituled, as any other their protestant brethren: and if what the Irish did in the late disorders of this kingdom, made them rebels, (which the presence of a king, they had before been obliged to own, and swear obedience to, gave them a reasonable colour of concluding it did not,) yet surely the dissenters did not do any thing to make them so; or to deserve worse at the hands of the government, than other protestants; but, on the contrary, it is more than probable, that if they (I mean the dissenters) had not put a stop to the career of the Irish army at Enniskillen and London-derry, the settlement of the government, both in England and Scotland, might not have proved so easy as it thereby did; for if that army had got to Scotland, (as there was nothing at that time to have hindered them, but the bravery of those people, who were mostly dissenters, and chargeable with no other crimes since; unless their close adhering to, and early appearing for the then government, and the many faithful services they did their country, were

crimes,) I say, if they had got to Scotland, when they had boats, barks, and all things else ready for their transportation, and a great many friends there in arms, waiting only their coming to join them; it is easy to think, what the consequence would have been to both these kingdoms; and these dissenters then were thought fit for command, both civil and military, and were no less instrumental in contributing to the reducing the kingdom, than any other protestants: and to pass a bill now, to deprive them of their birth-rights, (for those their good services,) would surely be a most unkind return, and the worst reward ever granted to a people so deserving. Whatever the papists may be supposed to have deserved, the dissenters certainly stand as clean in the face of the present government, as any other people whatsoever: and if this is all the return they are like to get, it will be but a slender encouragement, if ever occasion should require, for others to pursue their examples.

By the 15th, 16th, and 17th clauses of this bill, all papists, after the 24th of March 1703, are prohibited from purchasing any houses or tenements, or coming to dwell in Limerick or Galway, or the suburbs of either, and even such as were under the articles, and by virtue thereof have ever since lived there, from staying there; without giving such security as neither those articles, nor any law heretofore in force, do require; except seamen, fishermen, and day-labourers, who pay not above forty shillings a year rent; and from voting for the election of members of par-

liament, unless they take the oath of abjuration; which, to oblige them to, is contrary to the 9th of Limerick articles; which, as aforesaid, says the oath of allegiance, and no other, shall be imposed upon them; and, unless they abjure their religion, takes away their advowsons and right of presentation, contrary to the privilege of right, the laws of nations, and the great charter of Magna Charta; which provides, that no man shall be disseized of his birth-right, without committing some crime against the known laws of the land in which he was born, or inhabits. And if there was no law in force, in the reign of king Charles II. against these things, (as there certainly was not,) and if the Roman catholics of this kingdom have not since forfeited their right to the laws that were then in force, (as for certain they have not) then with humble submission, all the aforesaid clauses and matters contained in this bill, intituled, An act to prevent the further growth of popery, are directly against the plain words, and true intent and meaning of the said articles, and a violation of the public faith, and the laws made for their performance; and what, I therefore hope, this honourable house will consider accordingly.

The same, and other arguments, against the passing of this bill, were suffered to be pleaded at the bar of the house of lords; but were equally disregarded by both houses. The petitioners were told, that if they were to be deprived of the benefit of the articles of Limerick, it would be their own faults, since by conforming to the established

religion, they would be entitled to these and many other benefits; that therefore they ought not to blame any but themselves; that the passing of that bill into a law was needful for the security of the kingdom at that juncture; and, in short, that there was nothing in the articles of Limerick that should hinder them to pass it.

The royal assent was given to this act, on the 4th of March, 1704. An act, which, besides being a violation of national faith, was productive of every species of private, as well as public injury; by stripping men of their property, for not parting with their integrity; by fining and imprisoning them, for conscientious dissent from settled forms of worship; or for holding tenets merely spiritual, and totally foreign from any interference with the civil government of the state. So that our courts of justice and equity resembled, in these respects, the Roman tribunal punishing the primitive christians for not disavowing the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and embracing that of human institution.

Soon after this act was passed, the commons entered into such wild and intemperate resolutions concerning the execution of it, and of other penal statutes which it revives and confirms, as shew them to have been as little influenced and directed by the dictates of common sense, as they were by those of common humanity. On the 17th of March, 1704, they resolved unanimously, that all magistrates, and other persons whatsoever, who neglected or omitted to put them in due execution, were betrayers of the liberty of the kingdom. In

June, 1705, they resolved, that the saying or hearing of mass, by persons who had not taken the oath of abjuration, tended to advance the interest of the pretender. And that such judges and magistrates, as wilfully neglected to make diligent enquiry into, and discover such wicked practices, ought to be looked upon as enemies to her majesty's government. And least the judges, if not the inferior magistrates, should be somewhat ashamed of executing this new office of enquiring into, and discovering these wicked practices of saying and hearing mass, on account of that infamy which is commonly annexed to the trade of priest-catchers, discoverers, and informers, these commons had before taken care to resolve unanimously, that the prosecuting and informing against papists, was an honourable service to the government. Such was the good faith, good sense, and avowed honour of those bigotted times !*

This act, flagitious as it was, was not, in the eyes of the framers, sufficient to prevent the growth of popery. To explain and amend it, in 1709, Mr. Sergeant Caulfield introduced another, which received the royal assent on the 30th of August. Thus was formed " a complete system, full of coherence and consistency ; well digested and well composed in all its parts. It was a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance ; and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man."†

* Currie. Hist. Rev.

† Burke's Let. to Sir H. L.

By these acts, if the eldest, or any other son, became a protestant, the father, if possessing an estate by descent or purchase, was rendered incapable of disposing of any part of it, even in legacies or portions.

If a child pretended to be a protestant, the guardianship of it was taken from the father, and vested in the next protestant relation.

If children became protestants, the parents were compelled to discover the amount of their property; that the court of chancery might, at pleasure, allot portions and maintenance for the rebellious children.

If the wife became a protestant, during the lifetime of her husband, if he had power to make a settlement, to have such provision as the lord chancellor thought fit to adjudge.

Widows of papists conforming during their husband's lifetime, to have such proportion, not exceeding one third, of the property the husband died possessed of, as the court of chancery should adjudge.

If no protestant heir, the estate to be divided among the children, &c. share and share alike.

The heirs of a protestant possessor, if papists, disinherited, and the estate transferred to the next protestant relation.

Papists rendered incapable of purchasing lands, or rents, or profits from lands, or taking leases for any term not exceeding thirty-one years; if the profit on the farm exceeded one-third of the rent, the possessor ousted, and the property vested in the protestant discoverer.

Papists rendered incapable of annuities.

Deprived of votes at elections.

Incapacitated of serving on grand juries.

Expelled Limerick and Galway.

Limited to two apprentices, except in the linen trade.

Twenty pounds penalty, or twelve months imprisonment, for not acknowledging when and where mass was celebrated; who and what persons were present; when or where a priest or schoolmaster resided.

Popish clergy to be registered; to officiate only in the parish in which they are registered.

Fifty pounds reward for discovering a popish archbishop, bishop, vicar-general, or any person exercising foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Twenty pounds reward for a regular or secular clergyman, not registered.

Ten pounds reward for a popish schoolmaster or usher.

These rewards to be levied exclusively on papists.

Advowsons of papists vested in her majesty.

Thirty pounds per annum settled upon priests becoming protestants.

Two plausible reasons have been commonly assigned for the framing and continuing of these laws. First, their tendency to bring the papists of this kingdom to conformity in religion and loyalty with their protestant fellow-subjects; and next, their aptitude to weaken and impoverish such of them as prove refractory in these respects; to such a degree as to render both them, and their

posterity, utterly incapable of giving any future disturbance to this government. But is it not notorious, that hypocrisy, and disaffection to the established religion and government, are the natural and constant effects of such forced conversions? And even supposing that converts thus made might at length become real protestants and loyal subjects, “is evil to be done that good may arise therefrom,” in this one instance, when both reason, and religion, prohibit and condemn it in every other? On the other hand, does not the enacting such predatory laws against these people, without their being even accused of any civil crime, and merely to weaken and impoverish them, suggest to the mind something like the policy of an highwayman, in putting those he has robbed to death, lest if they were suffered to survive their losses, they might chance to discover and prosecute him for the robbery?

During all queen Anne’s reign, the inferior civil officers, by order of the government, were incessantly hampering the Roman catholics with oaths, imprisonments, and forfeitures, without any other visible cause but that of their religious profession; but the conduct of these people was still found so blameless, that it sometimes made their very persecutors ashamed of their severity. In the year 1708, on the bare rumour of an intended invasion of Scotland by the pretender, no fewer than forty-one Roman catholic noblemen and gentlemen were imprisoned in the castle of Dublin. And when they were afterwards set at liberty, because they had acted nothing against

the government, the state was so sensible of the wrong done them by their long and irksome confinement, that it remitted their fees, though they amounted to eight hundred and odd pounds.

What pitiful occasions were then taken, from every trifling circumstance of their religion, to persecute the persons of these unhappy people, appears, among numberless other instances, from the following passage; which, however inconsiderable in itself, has acquired some weight and importance, from the remarkable notice taken of it by the Irish commons. It seems there is a place of pilgrimage with them in the county of Meath, called St. John's well, which had been frequented every summer from time immemorial, by infirm men, women, and children of that persuasion, in hopes of being relieved from their several disorders, by performing certain acts of devotion and penance there. This the Irish commons deemed an object worthy of their most serious consideration, and a matter of the greatest national concern; and accordingly passed a vote, that these sickly devotees were assembled in that place to the great hazard and danger of the public peace, and safety of the kingdom. In consequence of which, fines, imprisonments and whipping, were made the penalties of such dangerous and tumultuous assemblies. A penance much more severe than, probably, these poor people intended to inflict on themselves; and from which they could hardly obtain any other cure of their disorders, but that never-failing one, death; which, in those times of religious rancour, frequently hap-

opened, by the extreme rigour of their punishment.

The scheme of the original framers of this law seems to have been, to drive the Roman catholic natives out of the kingdom, (which effect it certainly produced on great numbers,) and to introduce foreign protestants in their room. Accordingly, in the year 1709, at the request of the lords and others of the council, eight hundred and twenty-one protestant Palatine families were brought over to Ireland, and the sum of 24,850 pounds, 5 shillings and 6 pence, appointed for their maintenance, out of the revenue, on a resolution of the commons, that it would much contribute to the security of the kingdom, if the said Palatines were encouraged and settled therein. But the error of that policy was soon after discovered; for the lords, in their address to the queen, in 1711, thankfully acknowledge, that her majesty's early care had even prevented their own endeavours to free the nation of that load of debt, which the bringing over numbers of useless and indigent Palatines had brought upon them.*

While the English colony, as lord Clare justly styled them, so tyrannically, so wantonly, so unmercifully persecuted the natives, their masters, in England, as arrogantly, deprived them of their legislative and judicial rights. An insinuation of the trustees of the confiscated lands, that the Irish parliament aimed at independence, this degraded body answered by a declaration, that they held Ireland to be dependant on the English crown. If the English imperial crown was thus

* Hist. Rev. Civil Wars of Ireland.

pointed out by them, as the sole and exclusive object of their dependance, it followed, by direct implication, that the interference of the British parliament was iniquitous and unconstitutional. Borne down by the weighty hand of oppression, they were afraid, openly and in direct terms, to vindicate their privileges.

By a British statute, Ross was appointed the port for export of wool to England.

By a British statute, Ireland was permitted to export linen to the American plantations.

By a British statute, Ireland was prohibited importing linen from Scotland.

By a British statute, claims to forfeited estates in Ireland were limited.

By a British statute, the increase of protestant dissenters, in Ireland, was endeavoured to be restrained.

By a British statute, papists were prevented purchasing any part of the forfeited estates; but permitted to labour thereon, and dwell in a cabin, provided their tenement did not exceed in value the rent of thirty shillings a year.

Do they represent to her majesty, that the constitution of the kingdom had been injured, and the lives, liberties, and estates of the people had been called in question, in a manner unknown to their ancestors; that the current cash of the kingdom was not equal to the extraordinary expence incurred, by the trustees appointed for managing the forfeited estates, who, besides this just cause of complaint, made false representations to her majesty of the protestants of Ireland, to

create jealousies betwixt the two countries, and procure beneficial employments to themselves; that her subjects here felt deeply their loss of trade; that they could not earn their livelihood, or support their own manufactures; that their foreign commerce laboured under such restriction, as to have become, in a great measure, unprofitable, though to the blood and treasure of Ireland, England had been much indebted, with respect to the advantages of trade, which she enjoyed from her American plantations; that the infrequent meeting of parliament was a principal cause of the national misfortunes. Do they state these grievances to her majesty, she contemptuously answers, that the first part of it seems to relate to matters past in parliament; and the other part consisting only of things in general, her majesty can give no particular answer to at present, but will take them into her consideration.

Do the peers request her majesty to take into consideration a union between Great-Britain and Ireland, their offer is scornfully received. The weakness of Ireland was then deemed the strongest link of connexion there: the extirpation of the majority of the inhabitants, the best security of the English colony here.

Do the peers of the colony consider their judgment final: the English lords reverse their sentence, dispossess the earl and countess of Meath of lands adjudged to them. In an ebullition of patriotism, they resolve, that by the ancient known laws, and statutes of this kingdom, her majesty hath an undoubted jurisdiction, and pre-

rogative of judging, in this her high court of parliament, in all appeals and causes within her realm of Ireland. That the determinations of this court are final and conclusive, and cannot be reversed by any court whatsoever. That if any subject within this kingdom, shall hereafter presume to remove any cause, determined in this high court of parliament, to any other court, such person or persons shall be deemed betrayers of her majesty's prerogative and jurisdiction, and the undoubted ancient rights and privileges of this honourable house, and of the rights and liberties of the subjects of this kingdom. That if any subject, within this kingdom, shall presume to put in execution any order from any other court, contrary to the final determination of this high court of parliament, such person or persons shall be deemed betrayers of her majesty's prerogative and jurisdiction, and the undoubted ancient rights and privileges of this house, and of the rights and liberties of the subjects of this kingdom. Do they thus affect the proud tone of independent jurisdiction, and in this instance successfully, a few years after, the English parliament made them sensible of their impotence; enacting, that the house of lords of Ireland have not, nor of right ought to have, any jurisdiction to judge of, affirm or reverse any judgment, sentence or decree, given or made in any court within the said kingdom; and that all proceedings before the said house of lords, upon any such judgment, sentence, or decree, are utterly null and void.

Do they resolve, that in consequence of the great decay of trade, and discouragement of the manufactures of this kingdom, many poor tradesmen are reduced to extreme beggary? Do they, seeing this, attempt to remove the cause, the prohibiting export act of William's English parliament, which so closely followed their regulating prohibitory duty on Irish woollens? No. They resolve, indeed, that it would greatly contribute to the relief of the poor, and to the good of the kingdom, that the inhabitants wear none other than the manufacture of it, in their apparel and the furniture of their houses; and pledge their honors to each other, that they will conform to the said resolution.

“ No sooner were the catholics excluded from durable and profitable tenures, than they commenced graziers, and laid aside agriculture: they ceased from draining or enclosing their farms, and building good houses, as occupations unsuited to the new post assigned them in the national economy. They fell to wasting the lands they were virtually forbid to cultivate; the business of pasturage being compatible with such conduct, and requiring also little industry, and still less labour, in the management. This business, moreover, brings quick returns in money; and though its profits be smaller than those arising from agriculture, yet they are more immediate, and much better adapted to the condition of men, who are confined to a fugitive property, which can so readily be transferred from one country to another. This pastoral

occupation also eluded the vigilance of the race of informers; as the difficulty of ascertaining a grazier's profit is considerable; and as the proofs of his enjoying more than a third penny profit, cannot so easily be made clear in our courts of law. The keeping the lands waste also prevented, in a great degree, leases in reversion, which protestants only were qualified to take; and this (by the small temptation to such reversions) gave the present occupant the best title to a future renewal. This sort of self-defence, in keeping the lands uncultivated, had the further ill consequence of expelling that most useful body of people, called yeomanry in England, and which we denominate sculoags, in Ireland. Communities of industrious house-keepers, who, in my own time, herded together in large villages, and cultivated the lands every where, lived comfortably, until, as leases expired, some rich grazier, negotiating privately with a sum of ready money, took these lands over their heads. This is a fact well known. The sculoag race, that great nursery of labourers and manufacturers, has been broke and dispersed, in every quarter; and we have nothing in lieu, but the most miserable wretches on earth, the cottagers; naked slaves, who labour without any nourishing food, and live while they can, without houses or covering, under the lash of merciless and relentless task-masters!''*

* Observations on the affairs of Ireland.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

